

A Cabinet That Looks Like Canada:
A Critical Evaluation of Media Responses to Trudeau's Representative Cabinet

A thesis submitted to the College of
Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts
In the Women's, Gender and Sexualities Studies Program
University of Saskatchewan

By
Erin Pillipow

Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by me and Dr. Marie Lovrod, who supervised my thesis work. It is understood that any copying, publication, or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other uses of materials in this thesis in whole or part should be addressed to:

Program Chair, Women's and Gender Studies
University of Saskatchewan
9 Campus Drive
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5A5
Canada

Or

Dean, College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
University of Saskatchewan
116 Thorvaldson Building, 110 Science Place
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5C9
Canada

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the prevailing assumptions underlying how journalists have discussed Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet and their relationship to hegemonic power relations in Canada. Utilizing critical feminist and intersectional lenses, these inquiries will be examined through feminist critical discourse analysis of newspaper coverage of Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet and related issues raised by a wide range of journalism covering the story, from mainstream to student, ethnic, and Indigenous newspapers. How journalists talk about diverse political representation can reinforce common-knowledge understandings of politics and representation. Overall, I found that hegemonic power structures were reinforced by news media in terms of how journalists constructed political appointments, ethnic minorities, women in politics, Indigenous representation, and scandal. Journalists from alternative newspapers were able to be more critical toward the status quo and hegemonic structures compared with journalists from mainstream newspapers, which are more subject to neoliberal pressures. When mainstream newspapers did amplify marginalized voices, more critical perspectives were added to the discussion at higher circulation rates. News media representations impact the symbolic representation and, in turn, the sociological legitimacy of government institutions. Journalists have the discursive power to support, challenge, construct, and deconstruct political practices, government institutional norms, and public perceptions of individual politicians and their messages.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Marie Lovrod, for her incredible supervision and guidance with this thesis. Her encouragement and support provided me the opportunity to work on a project that I am passionate about, for which I am incredibly grateful. I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Loleen Berdahl and Dr. Emily Snyder, for their invaluable insights and constructive suggestions. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Lesley Biggs and Dr. Joan Borsa for their encouragement, support, and lending their knowledge frameworks and expertise in developing this thesis.

Table of Contents

Permission to Use	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction: Context of Study.....	1
1.2 Objectives of Study and Research Questions.....	3
1.3 Overview of Chapters.....	3
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework/Literature Review: Intersectionality and Diverse Representation	5
2.1 Introduction.....	5
2.2 Theoretical Framework	6
2.3 Perspective on Women and Minorities' Political Representation and Democratic Norms.....	10
2.3.1 Affirmative Action and Descriptive Representation.....	11
2.3.2 Skepticism and Substantive Representation.....	18
2.3.3 Equality and 'Merit'	20
2.4 Appointment Politics in Canada.....	23
2.5 Diversity and News Media.....	24
2.6 Conclusion.....	27
Chapter 3: Methodology: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis	28
3.1 Introduction.....	28
3.2 Research Methodology.....	28
3.3 Data Selection and Summary.....	31
3.4 Steps of Analysis.....	35
Chapter 4: Results and Discussion: Discursive Construction in News Media	39
4.1 Introduction.....	39
4.2 How Journalists Talk About Appointment Politics.....	39
4.3 How Journalists Talk About Merit.....	44

4.4 How Journalists Talk About Ministers.....	49
4.5 How Journalists Talk About Women in Politics.....	59
4.6 How Journalists Talk About Scandal.....	68
4.7 Concluding Remarks.....	73
Chapter 5: Conclusion: The Discursive Power of News Media.....	74
5.1 Conclusions and Suggestions Further Research.....	74
References.....	79
Appendix.....	90

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
Table 3.1 Data Summary First Timeframe	33
Table 3.2 Data Summary Second Timeframe	33
Table 3.3 Summary of Newspapers by Ownership	34
Table 3.4 Demographics of Journalists	37
Table 4.1 Ethnicity Mentions of Ministers or Potential Ministers in First Timeframe	51
Table 4.2 Mentions of “Experts” by Demographic and Category of Knowledge	61

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction: Context of Study

After the Liberals won the 2015 Canadian federal election, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau fulfilled his campaign promise to form his cabinet with fifty percent women. Not only did he build a gender-balanced cabinet; he also created a cabinet that was ethnically, culturally, and religiously diverse, and diversely abled. Trudeau's cabinet represents a shift from the traditional factors used in making cabinet appointments, such as geographical distribution, members representing Canada's two official languages, or with expected past political experience and preparation, toward more demographic factors. Debates surrounding this decision have highlighted the tensions circulating among different democratic norms, as well as hegemonic and changing ideas regarding political representation and parliamentary appointment practices.

First, I would like to address my positionality in relation to this research project, as it has not only shaped my topic; it inevitably influences my interpretation and understanding of the data. I spent most of my undergraduate degree in political studies writing about barriers to women in Canadian politics, with a focus on increasing women's representation within all levels of government. As well, I have spent time volunteering with organizations that have the goal of increasing women's representation in Canadian politics, including through the University of Saskatchewan club, Women in the Legislature, and the Saskatchewan chapter of Equal Voice. I am also a white settler-Canadian, which comes with inherent biases that arise from being privileged within the settler-colonial context of Canada.

When Trudeau announced his gender-balanced cabinet appointments, I was excited and encouraged by the strong stance on diverse representation taken up by the Prime Minister of Canada. However, I was also frustrated by the focus in my political studies classes on the idea of these diverse ministers as lacking "merit," including by my (mostly white male) professors. This was when I began to consider where our perceptions of and attitudes towards diverse representation and affirmative action come from.

News media plays an important mediating role in shaping Canadians' views of politics (Fleras 2011; Tolley 2015; Gidengil and Everitt 1999; Trimble et. al 2015; Moeller 1999) because they provide a primary resource that Canadians use to learn about individual politicians and governmental policies and practices. How various news media represent and construct political actors and structures impacts social perceptions. These representations are often far from neutral, and the underlying biases embedded within news media organizations and structures can work either to challenge or to reinforce hegemonic norms and structural inequalities. The various perspectives amplified by dominant news media outlets can impact Canadians' support for or resistance to progressive actions taken to increase diverse representation and other measures that redefine notions of what constitutes good governance, and the diverse publics that may or may not be served. This news media role makes it important not only to analyze discourses that circulate in the news, but also connect them to the larger social contexts in which they are operating.

Despite a declining market for newspapers, "the press" has long held a significant role in the representation of democratic governance as an investigative arm of news media. While newspapers shape Canadians' view of political and world events, they are themselves influenced by the social contexts in which they operate. As newspapers move online, ready access to a variety of sources facilitates discursive analyses, like mine. However, economic pressures are also putting increasing focus on the bottom line (Moeller 1999, 19-20). I am interested in the ways that the shifting footprint of journalism's relationship to public discourses about governance has played out in response to Trudeau's 2015 cabinet.

According to Moeller (1999), requirements of a good news story include timeliness, proximity, prominence, significance, controversy, novelty, currency, and emotional appeal (17). These constraints shape which stories are considered newsworthy, along with political, commercial, and historical considerations (20), as well as individual journalists' biases. All of these factors reflect underlying assumptions about what constitutes news, and are influenced by hegemonic ideas.

On the one hand, newspapers have played an important role in holding those in power accountable. They have revealed abuses of power, such as during the Watergate scandal in the United States or the sexual abuses at the Mount Cashel orphanage. On the other hand, Canadian newspaper coverage of the Idle No More Movement offers one example of how journalism can

reinforce racist stereotypes. Newspaper coverage of the movement has been critiqued for framing protesters as angry and dangerous, or as ‘new,’ even though organizers contextualized their efforts as a continuation of hundreds of years of resistance. Movement members also called newspapers to task for using racism and misogyny to discredit Chief Theresa Spence’s hunger strike (Simpson 2013). These brief examples show that newspapers have the power either to challenge or to reinforce the unequal power relations that continue to characterize the status quo.

1.2 Objectives of Study and Research Questions

The purpose of my thesis is to investigate the prevailing assumptions underlying the ways newspaper journalists have discussed Trudeau’s gender-balanced cabinet and their roles in reproducing hegemonic power relations in Canada. Drawing upon a broad sample of newspaper journalism with diverse audiences selected from immediately after the initial cabinet announcement and leading up toward the 2019 election, three main questions guide my research. They are: How have journalists responded to the shift in focus towards representation of a wider range of demographic identities in Trudeau’s gender-balanced cabinet? How have journalists used democratic norms to justify their support for or critiques of Trudeau’s cabinet? How do these journalistic representations of Trudeau’s ‘cabinet that looks like Canada’ challenge or uphold the status quo?

Utilizing critical feminist and intersectional lenses, I will examine data germane to these queries through a feminist critical discourse analysis of newspaper coverage of Trudeau’s gender-balanced cabinet and related issues raised by a wide range of journalists covering the story, from mainstream to student, to ethnic, and Indigenous newspapers. My study will examine how Canadian newspaper journalists have represented and continue to represent the discursive and political possibilities inherent in a gender-balanced cabinet that reflects Canadian diversity, with the potential/s to reshape and/or reinscribe the politics of representational governance in Canada.

1.3 Overview of Chapters

In Chapter 1, I outline the context of my research project, the objectives of my study, my research questions, and provide a brief outline of thesis.

In Chapter 2, I give an overview of my critical feminist theoretical framework, including a discussion of how intersectionality operates in relation to the Canadian nation-state and my present research project. I then situate my thesis within relevant literature on women's and minorities' political representation in terms of the relationships between various inclusion projects and specific democratic norms. Next, I provide a brief overview of appointment politics in Canada, and, lastly, I discuss the effects of journalistic depictions of diverse political representatives.

In Chapter 3, I explain my research methodology, provide a rationale for using feminist critical discourse analysis, and draw out its connections to my theoretical framework, as well as its relevance to my research questions and project. I also describe the data selection process, give a summary of the data collected for analysis, and outline the steps taken in conducting that analysis. I also outline and discuss the iterative approach I took in completing it.

Chapter 4 comprises the results and discussions arising from my analysis. This includes the various ways that journalists have talked about, and therefore have constructed discursively, appointment politics, merit, specific members of parliament and ministers, women in politics, and finally, scandal.

Lastly, Chapter 5 concludes my thesis by summarizing the findings of my research. It outlines the strengths and limitations of the approaches taken and proposes further academic research, building forward from the work completed here.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review: Intersectionality and Diverse Representation

2.1 Introduction

Perspectives on women's and minorities' political representation have implications for what policies and practices are used by governments and political parties for increasing women's and minorities' representation in government institutions, if there is any engagement with increasing diverse representation at all. Different understandings of democratic norms inform such practices, including Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet, and the level of importance diverse representation assumes for political parties, governments, news agencies, and individuals. The conversations surrounding Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet, specifically within news media, and more specifically, print journalism, are important to analyze through critical and intersectional lenses because they impact Canadians' attitudes towards government structures, officials, policies, and practices.

In this chapter, I will first position the Canadian state as a conflicted site of evolving hegemony and social change using my critical feminist and intersectional lenses. Next, I will situate Trudeau's representative cabinet within the body of literature on women's and minorities' political representation. This literature will showcase how various perspectives on diverse representation and affirmative action practices interact with specific contested democratic norms, which claim the principles of equality, representation, and fairness as well as their impact on democratic legitimacy. Next, I will discuss Canada's history of appointment politics and explain how Trudeau's cabinet has been a departure from the traditional factors typically considered in ministerial appointments. Lastly, I will give an overview of the current landscape of how Canadian news media have framed diversity in politics.

2.2 Theoretical Framework: Critical Feminist Theory and Intersectionality

In this thesis, I take the perspective that Canada functions both as a patriarchal governance structure and a settler-colonial state. Feminist perspectives on the state are varied. The most typically adopted perspective by contemporary national and international governance norms is that of liberal feminism, which starts from the assumption that women share in the capacity for human reason and so, on the grounds of equality, should be included in the leadership of state institutions. For liberal feminism, gender equality will be achieved when women reach leadership parity within significant social and political institutions, such as government (Whitworth 2008). Critics of liberal feminism often argue that this perspective does not take into account the different structural and socio-economic barriers facing some individuals.

In contrast to this approach, a critical feminist lens looks at the implicit, systemic, and institutional gendering of the nation-state and resulting hierarchies. From this perspective, patriarchal characteristics define the state (Kantola 2006, 120). This characterization is seen in both the discourses and material structures of the state. Discourse refers to ideas, their expression and reproduction in multiple dimensions of language and representation, for example, in how we assign meaning to gender or ethnicity, which are then embedded within laws (Whitworth 2008). Material structures refer to institutions themselves, such as the makeup of government, where white males continue to dominate the most powerful positions (Shapcott 2008).

Canadian state institutions were created by white men, for white men. This reality is evident in the historical formal exclusion of women, Indigenous peoples and their legal and governance systems, and other racialized and minoritized people. This patriarchal legacy has generated a lasting effect on the oppression of women and structurally feminized individuals, which can be documented through the effects of a wide range of laws and norms ranging from governmental control over women's rights to make decisions about their own bodies, to the continual association of supposedly masculine traits with "good" leadership. These laws and norms put women and minorities at a structural disadvantage. From this perspective, even if a diverse set of women were to reach leadership parity within all political institutions, they would continue to be at a disadvantage because the structure of those very institutions benefits masculinity over femininity. Patriarchal laws and norms also disadvantage, and in many cases punish and actively erase, those who violate gender norms, such as trans and non-binary

individuals. These effects are compounded for racialized individuals, those with disabilities, youth, and the elderly.

I will also be utilizing an intersectional approach. Intersectionality, a term coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, originated from within the Black feminist movement in the United States (Isoke 2016, 743). Crenshaw argued that the treatment of race and gender as completely separate categories fails to account for the multiple axes of oppression experienced by Black women (Crenshaw 1989). Many scholars, including Crenshaw, have continued to develop the concept of intersectionality, recognizing how different systems of oppression, such as racism, patriarchy, heteronormativity, and capitalism, are interlocking and therefore disadvantage or privilege differently across multiple vectors of identity, thereby impacting access to resources and opportunities (Harvey 2020).

Emphasizing the ways that different identities overlap with each other, the concept of intersectionality was originally an additive approach, meaning that a particular individual's identities of gender, race, class, ability, and sexuality must be added together to understand their cumulative levels of oppression (Zhao 2013, 204). In more recent years, however, scholars have critiqued this construction of intersectionality on its limitations for analysis; its view of identities as stable categories; its focus on traditional identity categories; and its deterministic ontology; among others (Isoke 2016; Cooper 2016; Puar 2007; Staunæs 2003; Moser 2006; Zhao 2013). These critiques have led to the development of different, more contingent mobilizations of intersectional analysis that take into account shifting contexts and conditions. Two more articulated forms of intersectional analysis that I will be utilizing in this thesis are Dorthe Staunæs' concept of 'saturation' and Ingunn Moser's 'interference.'

Staunæs (2003) developed her intersectional approach of understanding 'saturation' of socially constructed differences from her research on the processes of subjectification within the context of multi-ethnic schools in Denmark, and by looking at the 'doing,' or active performance, of different categories of identity (102). She specifically looks at the ways that different identity categories can overshadow or "drown" each other out, a process she regards as 'saturation.' The example she gives in her explanation draws on her research regarding how gender and race interact in the subject positions of diverse Danish schoolboys. Staunæs found that the category of ethnicity overshadowed the category of gender within what she describes as troubled and untroubled subject positions: The differences between "bad boys" and "good" or

“normal boys” were mainly talked about in terms of the different ethnic identities of “the Turks” and “the Danes,” two categories representing marginalized and dominant positions. Staunæs calls this process ‘ethnic saturation’ because the specific, locally situated discourses of ethnicity saturated discussions of the different subject positions.

Staunæs goes on to discuss how the interactions between ethnicity and gender were different for “the Turks” and “the Danes,” which resulted in the shared category of masculinity developing in different ways for each group (107). This explains how identity categories are not universal in their meanings to different individuals sharing that identity, especially when they intersect with diverging identity categories. Her analysis also highlights how within this ‘ethnic saturation,’ the intersections of gender and ethnicity construct ethnic difference in a way that contains a gender-related component, meaning that gender does not become an irrelevant category, even when it has been ‘saturated’ with ethnicity (Zhao 2013, 206). Therefore, despite ethnic saturation, the intersections of gender and ethnicity construct an ethnic difference that maintains gender-related differences.

Another construction of intersectional analysis that I will utilize in this thesis is Moser’s ‘interference.’ Moser (2006) developed the intersectional approach of ‘interference’ from her research on individuals’ experiences of disability and technology use. She borrows the term interference from physics, where it describes what happens when two waves combine to form a single wave in which amplitude is either increased or reduced (538). She uses the term as a metaphor for how differences such as disability and gender are made and unmade within different social situations. The concept also explains how individuals can experience multiple axes of oppression and privilege at different times.

Moser aims to use interference to describe how the enactment, or performance, of one identity can disturb or compete with the enactment of another within a specific social situation (Zhao 2013, 207). The example she uses from her research is an encounter with one of her male participants. When Moser came to his residence to conduct research on his experience with a disability, he began their interaction by joking that she should first wash his dishes (Moser 2006, 538). She uses this example to show how different identities can be enacted in order to provoke specific categorical differences. When Moser first came to her participant’s place, a categorical difference around disabled-ness was enacted due to her position as an able-bodied researcher and her participants’ position as a disabled person. However, when he joked about Moser doing the

dishes, which is stereotypically women's work, he enacted and mobilized a prevailing difference around gender in order to reposition himself as a man in relation to Moser as a woman (Zhao 207). This example showcases that when categories intersect, they can disturb or compete with other categories of different identities operating within that social situation to create different relational meanings and possibilities.

Along with these more specific and flexible ways of understanding intersectionality, a general discussion and analysis of different power structures and their relationships with diverse to identity categories continues to be an important aspect of intersectional feminist approaches undertaken in order to describe socio-politically reproduced oppression in all of its complexity (Harvey 2020). There are several axes of oppression and privilege that I will consider within this thesis including race, class, gender, sexuality, gender identity, age, disability, and religion, among others. However, as seen within recent applications of the concepts of 'saturation' and 'interference,' there is an accompanying recognition that these categories of difference are not stable but are, rather, distinctive to the evolving individual and their shifting social situation.

A specific axis of oppression that I will address in this thesis is that of Indigenous peoples. Critical Indigenous and de-colonial theories frame the Canadian state as settler-colonial. Tuck and Yang (2012) distinguish settler-colonialism from other forms of colonialism including external and internal colonialism. External colonialism refers to the dispossessing of products from Indigenous worlds in order to transport them to the colonizer, such as plants, animal hides and furs, humans, or 'natural resources.' Internal colonialism refers to the modes of control within 'domestic' boundaries, such as prisons, surveillance, and criminalization, among others, which ensure the domination of a nation's white elite. Tuck and Yang assert that settler colonialism operates through both internal and external colonial approaches. The main distinguishing factor of settler-colonialism is that, "the colonizer comes to stay" (5). Other scholars have also pointed out that Canadian colonialism is an ongoing project reflected in its institutional approaches (Simpson 2016).

Feminist and post-colonial perspectives are not mutually exclusive in their challenges to settler-colonialism, as Simpson (2016) argues that the colonial project of the Canadian state remains a gendered one, corroborated, in part, through the disproportionate numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, among other examples. Indigenous feminist theories have also expounded the patriarchal nature of settler-colonialism (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill

2013). There are many facets of patriarchy embedded within settler-colonialism, for example, within Canada the Indian Act regulates and confers lineage through men, even though before colonialism most societies were matrilineal (15).

The particular de-colonial theory that I will utilize in this thesis involves drawing on Tuck and Yang's critiques of 'settler moves to innocence' (2012). These 'moves to innocence' are strategies that aim to relieve settlers' feelings of guilt about colonial effects without any commitment to doing the real work of decolonization, which would include the expectation that the settler-colonial state and its agents actually relinquish land and power. Tuck and Yang outline various types of 'moves to innocence' in order to provide "a framework of excuses, distractions, and diversions from decolonization" (10), including through reductive practices of inclusion. Such 'moves to innocence' include a preference for "damage stories" that reinscribe settler-colonial privilege and dominance through claims that the colonized are too broken to lead themselves (Tuck 2009).

2.3 Women and Minorities' Political Representation and Democratic Norms

The literature on the political representation of women and minorities most often invokes three main forms: symbolic, descriptive, and substantive representation. These forms are based on Pitkin's (1967) model of political representation, though scholars have since updated and negotiated with her definitions. Descriptive representation refers to the actual number of a specific demographic group occupying government positions and the degree to which they reflect the populations from which they are derived (Mendelberg and Karpowitz 2016; Ashe 2017). Most of the literature on women's and minorities' political representation has been focused on descriptive representation because it is the easiest to measure.

Symbolic representation was originally, and often continues to be, conceptualized as the meaning a representative has for their constituents or other groups they are representing (Barnes and Burchard 2012; Pitkin 1967). However, symbolic representation has also been defined as the general ideas held about a specific group, such as women or other minoritized groups – the respect, dignity and authority given to them and the overall perception that they are competent in making political decisions (or not) (Mendelberg and Karpowitz 2016; Burnet 2011). This conceptualization of symbolic representation is impacted not just by representations within governments, but also other societal representations including media (Floras 2011).

Substantive representation refers to the extent to which a group's ideas and concerns are actually being voiced and having influence within government. Some scholars argue that substantive representation is the most important form of representation (Celis 2013). A main focus of the literature on women's political representation seeks to understand the connection between these three different forms of representation. For example, descriptive representation has been found to positively impact women's substantive and symbolic representation (Mendelberg and Karpowitz 2016; Bauer 2016; Burnet 2011).

The various perspectives on women's and minorities' representation in state and institutional governance are extremely broad and cannot be fully covered here. However, I will go over the three main groups of perspectives I have identified as being grounded in debates surrounding democratic norms. Democratic norms are informal rules and expectations that shape democracies and impact government institutions' levels of legitimacy. Democratic norms are often competing and not everyone has shared definitions of all norms, such as equality, representation and fairness. As well, these norms are embedded in settler Canadian politics and are not necessarily directly applicable to other legal and government systems, such as the various forms of Indigenous governance. I will look at how these norms and surrounding perspectives relate to Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet.

2.3.1 Affirmative Action and Descriptive Representation

The first perspective views the underrepresentation of women and other historically marginalized groups as violating democratic norms of representation and is, therefore, supportive of affirmative action practices, such as Trudeau's diverse cabinet, which attempt to catalyze the process of increasing diverse representation in decision-making. From this point of view, governments are inherently marked by representational deficits as part of the status quo, meaning that they are incapable of self-correcting and therefore need the support of affirmative action practices to demonstrate that approaches to good governance includes significant investment in descriptive representation.

Proponents of affirmative action policies argue that they are simply compensating for barriers present in most societies that prevent women and other historically marginalized groups from having equal access to representation (Bacchi, 2006 77). These barriers include economic underdevelopment, patriarchal and racist cultural values and norms, and electoral system

constraints (Thomas, 2013). With this understanding of marginalized groups' underrepresentation, quotas and other affirmative action practices are solutions, however crudely undertaken, to redress entrenched privileges. Without some external force, the oppressive status quo could potentially continue to reproduce itself over and over again.

Research outlining the importance of women's equal descriptive representation often focuses on three main types of rational. First, and possibly most often, it has been argued that parity for women in government is important because research has shown that women are more likely than men to prioritize issues related to marginalized groups and to support government spending on children, families, and the disadvantaged. (Hutchings et al. 2004, 512-541; Kathlene 1995, 697; Kaufman 2004, 494; Mendelberg, Karpowitz, and Geodert 2014, 292). Without an adequate amount of women in decision-making positions, these concerns, or 'care issues' will not be adequately addressed. Historically, these 'care issues' have shaped the definition of women's substantive representation.

Although there is significant research showing that women are more likely to prioritize care issues, when concerns and issues become a pre-determined category according to gender, such an approach essentializes the binary categories of men and women. Many scholars have pointed out the flaws in this essentialization of 'women's issues.' Towns (2003) argues that women and men do not come into government bodies with distinct concerns that are pre-politically gendered. Rather, the socialization that occurs within legislatures and their wider publics shapes men's and women's concerns and the issues they engage to fit into culturally appropriate expectations. As well, Grossman (2012) argues that the historical underrepresentation of women has shaped our understanding of 'men's concerns' as 'human concerns,' while women's concerns have become seen, incorrectly, as more of a narrow and marginalized catalogue of issues. Often within politics and government institutions, women and minorities of diverging perspectives work together for the purpose of alliance building and to increase their collective voices in order to influence policy. However, Celis (2013) warns against operationalizations of substantive representation that narrowly list different women's issues or feminist ideas, advocating rather that such representation should include diverse perspectives, as 'women' and 'minorities' are each and together very diverse groups, which leads to the second main argument for increased representation of women and minorities' in politics.

A second argument for equal descriptive representation is that women are a large and heterogeneous group with a diverse range of values, opinions, and needs. Thomas (2013) argues that representing such vast diversity is nearly impossible with a small number of women and would be more realistically possible if their proportion in legislatures reflected their demographics in the greater society. This argument can apply to all minoritized groups in Canadian society. Tokenized representation does not work because individuals cannot fully represent or speak for their entire demographic. This argument is closely intertwined with the last and I believe most important reason for equal representation.

The strongest argument for equal descriptive representation is that the severe underrepresentation of women in public institutions diminishes their legitimacy. Grossman (2012) defines three criteria needed to justify the authority of a public institution: 1) they are fair and unbiased; 2) they follow recognized proper rules and procedures; and 3) they are imbued with democratic norms, such as equality and representativeness (651). Grossman also distinguishes between normative legitimacy, which occurs when an institution ‘has the right to rule’ and is based on what are considered to be objective criteria and sociological legitimacy, which occurs when an institution is ‘believed to have the right to rule,’ a condition of public support, which is understood to be subjectively determined. Grossman argues that when women are underrepresented in public institutions the legitimacy of those institutions is diminished because of either an actual bias or the perception of a bias.

This diminished legitimacy is particularly true for the underrepresented demographic. For example, if only male legislators create laws about women’s reproductive health, according to Grossman, the resulting laws will have inherent biases because male legislators do not have firsthand experience with women’s reproductive health, thereby diminishing their normative legitimacy. Grossman argues that even if male legislators were able to create laws about women’s reproductive health without biases, they would still lack sociological legitimacy because many people, especially women, would *believe* that men have inherent biases towards women’s reproductive health that would elevate their own interests above those most affected. Other scholars have argued elsewhere regarding the connection between descriptive representation and legitimacy as applied to descriptive demographics beyond just gender. Godwin (2010) and Jabeen and Awan (2017) both argue that the legitimacy of the policies

created by a government is diminished when that government's composition is not representative of its population.

I believe this is the strongest argument to increase descriptive representation for women and minorities in all levels of government because it has implications for those in positions of power, more so than the previous reasons. Those in power may not have incentives to increase attention to 'care issues' or to encourage the representation of a diverse group of women, but all governments have incentive to strengthen their sociological legitimacy because it means they will gain support from the most citizens as possible.

The main argument for quotas and other affirmative action policies is that they are the most effective way to increase the number of women and other minoritized groups in governments. Indeed, studies have found that quotas are a main factor contributing to the rapid increase in women's representation around the globe (Jabeen and Awan 2017; Allen and Cutts 2018). Trudeau's implementation of a gender-balanced cabinet clearly increased the numbers of women serving at the highest levels of Canada's government.

There are many forms of affirmative action practices that governments and political parties have used to increase the representation of women and other historically marginalized groups. These include gender quotas, implementing proportional representative electoral systems, implementing two-member electoral ridings, mobilizing public educational programs, and gender or group-based budgeting, among others. Due to its status as a realized campaign promise, Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet has most often been categorized in terms of establishing a gender quota.

Quotas in the political sphere typically involve creating a target percentage for the representation of a specific group that has been historically excluded or underrepresented, such as women, often in some reasonable proportion to demographics in the country. Such quotas may also be set up in a gender-neutral fashion requiring a maximum-minimum percentage for both men and women, for example, no more than 60 percent and no less than 40 percent for each (Dahlerup 2006, 49).

Most gender quota researchers identify three basic types: party quotas, legislative quotas, and reserved seats. Some scholars also include a fourth type, soft quotas, which include any informal targets or government or political party policies that encourage, but do not require, parties to include more women in their nomination processes. These soft policies can involve

training women, offering financial incentives for affirmative action candidates, or establishing search committees for specific candidates, among other strategies (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 154; Matland and Studlar 1996, 719).

First, party quotas are measures adopted voluntarily by political parties that commit themselves to nominate a certain proportion of women among their candidates for elections. Party quotas are the most common type of quota found in the West, although their effectiveness varies greatly (Krook, Lovenduski, and Squires 2009, 784). Due to the lack of sanctions for non-compliance, party quotas do not necessarily result in parties actually nominating the full proportion of women they have pledged to put up for election (Matland and Studlar 1996, 719). Second, legislative quotas, much like party quotas, are implemented at the party nomination level and require parties to nominate between 25 and 50 percent women. However, these quotas differ in that they are entrenched in the constitution or the law, making them mandatory. Legislative quotas usually have sanctions for non-compliance and are often, therefore, more effective than party quotas. Lastly, reserved seats are quotas that specify a percentage of seats in a government designated for women only, ranging from 5 percent to 50 percent. Because this type of quota focuses on results instead of opportunity, it is typically the most effective at increasing women's representation substantially over a short period of time. (Darhour and Dahlerup 2013, 132).

Dahlerup (2006) has also laid out a somewhat different model for categorizing gender quotas based on two criteria: the level at which the quota is operating and from where the quota is being mandated. First, there are three levels of change that Dahlerup outlines toward which a quota can be aimed. Level one increases the candidate pool, or aspirants; level two addresses the number of candidates up for election; and level three addresses the proportion of individuals who have been elected. Second, Dahlerup explains that quotas can be mandated by political parties or through legislation (50).

These two aspects of quota implementation intersect to create different types of quotas. Quotas at the first level, which aim to enlarge the pool of aspirants, are what would be called soft quotas as they are generally left to political parties and other organizations and do not involve establishing hard targets for nominated candidates or elected government members. Party and legislative quotas represent the intersection of the second level of quotas, aiming to increase the number of women up for election, within both forms of mandate.

Lastly, reserved seats represent the third level of operational quota, which aims to increase the number of women who are elected, and are usually mandated by the state, although there are instances of reserved seats being implemented voluntarily by political parties as well (Dahlerup 2006, 50-52). While this more complicated model is not necessary to invoke when discussing most instances of gender quotas, it is much more thorough and is useful in categorizing unique forms of gender quotas operating in specific contexts.

The reasons for adopting quotas are other differences between these policies. Krook (2009) has identified four main reasons for adopting quotas, which include women's movements, strategic advantages for political elites, an extension of developing notions of representation and equality, and influence from international organizations (19). First, scholars often view women and women's movements as a source of quota proposals. The specifics of this process can vary greatly across different contexts. This pathway to quota implementation can include women's grassroots movements and organizations that work at the local or national level to increase women's political participation or it can involve individual women or women's coalitions inside political parties who lobby for quotas, among others (Krook 2009, 21).

Second, many quota scholars outline the role of political elites and the strategic advantages they gain in implementing quota policies. This reason for adopting gender quotas helps to explain why political elites, who are overwhelmingly male, would support, promote, and in many instances instigate the implementation of quotas, which go directly against the political status quo that is supporting current political elites. Political parties often implement quotas after one of their electoral rivals establish them (Matland and Studlar 1996). As well, quota adoption has been shown to effectively increase support for a political party among female voters (Krook 2009, 22).

Third, some scholars view quota adoption as the expected extension of existing or emerging ideas and norms of equality and representation. Some view this process in terms of fair access, which can be seen through the often quicker adoption by left-wing parties, in step with their goals of social equality (Matland and Studlar 1996). Other scholars view quotas in terms of norms of representation and as a means to recognize the importance of equal descriptive representation on the basis of gendered difference (Krook 2009, 23).

Lastly, quota scholars often point to international norms and organizations as key actors in promoting quotas. The *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* (1995) exemplifies this

reason for the adoption of gender quotas. During the associated conference that produced the document, all 189 United Nations member states signed the *Beijing Declaration*, which called on governments to create equal access and participation in decision-making for women (Krook 2009, 3). Although gender quotas and affirmative action practices in national legislatures existed before the *Beijing Declaration*, the amount of quotas implemented has since skyrocketed around the world. Many other international organizations have embraced the adoption of affirmative action practices in their recommendations for increasing women's political participation as well, including such bodies as the European Union, the Commonwealth, the African Union, and the Organization of American States (24). Krook argues that research on the different reasons for quota implementation has focused too much on domestic explanations over international influence, despite quotas being adopted in many countries at the same time, often in the wake of recommendations by international organizations (19). She argues that these international forces often interact with the national motives for quota adoption as a catalyst (25).

These various explanations illuminate why quotas, which challenge the political status quo, reach the political agenda and are passed in many different countries and contexts. Krook (2009) argues that each of these reasons is rarely sufficient on their own in explaining the adoption of a particular gender quota. Rather, it is more likely that multiple of these forces work simultaneously. I believe that these reasons also apply to any form of policy, practice, or affirmative action taken by political parties or governments to increase intersectional descriptive representation, including Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet.

I would also like to propose two additional motives for Trudeau's adoption of a representative cabinet. The first arises in relation to Indigenous representation in his cabinet and functions as a 'move to innocence.' Tuck and Yang (2012) argue that settlers often use gestures and discourses of change or progress as ways to ease settler guilt for colonialist violence through such 'moves to innocence.' However, these gestures are often empty, as the settlers do not give up any real power, land, or capital in the process and, therefore, the "progressive" actions in question are not actual moves towards substantive decolonization. Trudeau's representative cabinet fits this description in two ways. First, as Tuck and Yang state, moves to innocence are often obscured within other social justice work, so that the emphasis on justice for all precludes meaningful attention to justice for Indigenous peoples specifically, arguably those most harmed by the emergence of the Canadian nation state. Second, they point to 'colonial equivocation' as a

particular move to innocence. In this condition of equivocation, the representation and voices of racialized settlers are placed on the same level of importance as those of Indigenous peoples, without including a critical de-colonial perspective, which was clearly done within Trudeau's cabinet. When Indigenous voices are equivocated with racialized settlers, this move can obscure or make invisible the particular Indigenous histories and claims for justice that are rooted in settler-colonialism.

The second additional motive for Trudeau's representative cabinet I would like to propose is increasing the sociological legitimacy of his government. Critical feminist theories bring into question the legitimacy of state institutions that operate on the basis of inequity. Bringing gender equity into the executive branch of government is one way to increase the sociological legitimacy of the Liberal government, particularly for the historically underrepresented groups that found themselves with increased representation in his cabinet. Thus, it was a way to increase support from those demographics without actually making any changes to the structure of state institutions. Thus, similar to the previous motive, it is possible to view Trudeau's cabinet as a limited gesture that does not give up any real power to women, which is the next perspective on diverse political representation. Shallow, performative motives do not preclude elected Indigenous, female, or other minoritized members from becoming critical actors, but they do indicate narrowed avenues toward substantive change.

2.3.2 Skepticism and Substantive Representation

The second perspective on women's and minorities' underrepresentation is skeptical of the ability of affirmative action practices to create sustained, substantive changes. Some scholars, including some feminists among them, argue that quotas violate the principles of liberal democracy and create an atmosphere where women are not taken seriously or can be tokenized through spotlighting, without creating substantive change (Fraser 1995, 155; McLoughlin 2005; Bacchi 2006, 77). Substantive change is important to address because quotas and affirmative action practices can easily become mere empty gestures. The Liberal government, under Trudeau, has made other efforts to address gender inequity in Canada, besides adopting a gender-balanced cabinet. Trudeau's government has increased funding for Women and Gender Equality Canada and has directly addressed gender inequity in the budget with their Gender Results Framework (Status of Women Canada 2018). As well, Trudeau has frequently identified himself

as a feminist and has made promises to address inequities beyond his cabinet (Garza 2015; Frisk 2016).

However, some signs point to Trudeau's representative cabinet being more of a spectacle than leading to more concrete, substantive changes. First, while his affirmative action did successfully increase the proportion of women at the executive level of government, women only make up twenty-nine percent of the Liberal Members of Parliament (House of Commons Canada 2019) – far from parity. There are many structural barriers to women in politics in Canada such as the simple plurality electoral system and the decentralized nomination process. However, there are steps that political parties in Canada can take that may help to increase the proportion of women in parliament. The proportion of female candidates nominated by the Liberal party was just thirty-one percent (Equal Voice 2019). Thomas (2013) has argued that at the individual level psychological factors are the more important barrier to women entering politics, including lower levels of confidence in their political abilities due, in part, to their limited representation in governance and distorted media coverage of the women who do enter politics (Gidengil and Everitt 2000). By implementing more soft quota policies that aim to encourage more women to enter into politics, the Liberal party could have increased the proportion of women MPs, at least in the Liberal caucus.

Second, while Trudeau identifying as a feminist is not inherently bad or even false, focusing on the label could point to feminism being more of a marketing scheme, rather than a foundational principle for his party and government. Third, Trudeau has faced criticism for the nature and scope of portfolios his female cabinet ministers received. Of the fifteen female cabinet ministers initially appointed, five were junior ministers, or ministers of state, rather than full ministers. This means that they remained subordinate to other ministers and were not in charge of their own departments. Trudeau has stated that regardless of title, he and his government will treat the ministers of state as equal. However, this points to a continued reproduction of the status quo, with women being relegated to inferior roles, even when included in some executive leadership opportunities.

Much of the literature on political representation looks at how the different forms of representation interact with each other. Research has shown women's descriptive representation often has implications for their symbolic and substantive representation, which could be considered real and substantive changes. Barnes and Burchard (2012) found that when women's

descriptive representation increased in government bodies in Sub-Saharan Africa, the gender gap in political engagement at the citizen level decreased significantly. They theorize that this happened because the increased number of women in positions of power helped to strengthen women's symbolic representation, both in terms of how women view themselves and for how others view women as a group. Similarly, research has shown that higher levels of descriptive representation can increase substantive representation (Mendelberg and Karpowitz 2016). As well, due to the heterogeneousness of the views within diverse groups of women and different minorities, a larger number of members from those groups working in governance means that a wider range of their views can be properly represented and taken into account (Thomas 2013).

However, some research has shown that the opposite can occur. Kathlene (1994) found that increased numbers of females on legislative committees caused a male 'backlash,' which severely disadvantaged women's ability to participate in policymaking. She argues this occurs even in 'well-balanced' group interactions because of socialized power dynamics between men and women. Further, Childs and Krook (2006) argue that our understanding of women's substantive representation should shift from a focus on 'critical mass' toward 'critical actors.' They found evidence of single individuals exerting influence within governments that resulted in passing legislation that directly benefited women. However, the critical actor view of substantive representation still supports the effort to increase women and minorities' descriptive representation. Providing a larger number of potential actors who represent subordinated groups in government and political leadership positions means that there is a higher likelihood of finding critical actors within that group. One such approach for increasing representation of currently underrepresented groups in government institutions involves affirmative action practices.

2.3.3 Equality and 'Merit'

The last perspective on diverse representation pushes back against affirmative action, including efforts like Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet, because it goes against the status quo. This perspective does not see women's and other historically marginalized groups' underrepresentation as a problem that needs to be solved. As such, it views affirmative action as giving women and minorities undeserved advantages and argues for an approach to politics based on meritocracy claims. Notions of meritocracy are based on the concept that we should all

want the most knowledgeable and capable individuals representing us in our government, regardless of their demographic identities.

Many people uphold the notion of meritocracy as the belief that governing institutions should be filled with individuals chosen on the basis of education and ability, or ‘merit,’ rather than on factors such as social status and wealth. Liu (2011) argues that there are four aspects of the idea of a meritocracy that should be analyzed critically. First, how merit is defined or what characteristics are included often remains ambiguous, but the term is most often associated with intelligence and effort. Second, distributive justice is an aspect of meritocracy that assumes rewards in society, such as wealth and power, accrue in relation to level of merit. Third, meritocracy is based on the idea of equality of opportunity, which assumes an equal starting position within society for all individuals. Lastly, meritocracy assumes that social mobility is always possible and is based on merit, rather than determined by birth and other factors. All of these aspects create a perspective that supports meritocracy based on the false belief that people are only hindered in their actualization and socio-political advancement by their own individual effort and aspirations.

However, it is clear that meritocracy does not take into account the many systemic barriers faced by minoritized groups, such as economic barriers to accessing higher levels of education, for example. Those with access to education, resources, and life experiences viewed as “meritorious” are, unsurprisingly, most often middle and upper class, heterosexual, cis-gendered, white men. Further, the idea of meritocracy utilizes an outdated understanding of equality as ‘equality of opportunity.’ This form of opportunity does not take into consideration the numerous barriers that many women and other historically marginalized groups uniquely face, as previously discussed. Thus, affirmative action represents a necessary shift from equality to equity, or ‘equality of outcome.’ Pushback from the narrowed perspective of support for “meritocracy” comes from not understanding the structural barriers faced by marginalized groups within our current system.

One body of literature that supports the meritocracy approach to politics over affirmative action purports a gender gap in political knowledge. The gendered gap in political knowledge is a well-documented phenomenon in political science research that has been shown to exist consistently over time and space (Delli Caprini and Keeter 1996). This gender gap was first documented in 1960 by Campbell et al. in the *American Voter*. Since this study, many others

have demonstrated its continued presence in North America (Dow 2009; Mondak and Anderson 2004; Jerit and Barabas 2017; Mendez and Osborn 2010; McGlone, Aronson, and Kobryniewicz 2006; Lizotte and Sidman 2009) and around the world (Fraile 2014; Fraile and Gomez 2017; Bleck and Michelitch 2018; Tong 2003; Prihatini 2018).

This literature often blames women for being unmotivated toward and uninterested in politics. However, feminist scholars have critiqued this work as being androcentric, narrow, and elitist, arguing that this literature reflects gender-biased measures by defining political knowledge as knowledge of electoral and legislative politics only. In more recent years, scholars have shown that by broadening operationalizations of political knowledge, the purported gender gap dissipates. For example, Stolle and Gidengil (2010) found that when surveys include more practical forms of political knowledge, such as those involving government services and benefits, the gender gap disappears and, at times, even reverses. Similarly, Dolan (2011) found that when research instruments include gender-relevant items, such as questions about female political leaders, the gender gap reverses. Another significant study by Shaker (2012) found that in surveys measuring political knowledge about local government and politics, the gender gap disappears.

Another significant and adjacent finding in research on political knowledge is the lower levels of political knowledge found among minority groups (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). Since the 1990s, lower levels of political knowledge among racialized groups have been a consistent finding (Abrajano 2015). Though most of this research focuses on ethnic and racialized minorities, studies have also included other marginalized groups such as low-income and elderly populations, which have found similar gaps. For example, Stolle and Gidengil (2010) found that even though including more practical forms of political knowledge would dissipate the gender gap in political knowledge, a more significant gap *among women* became evident. They found that immigrant, low-income, and senior women had the lowest levels of practical political knowledge, even though they are in most need of a social safety net (103).

While these studies are not a complete picture of the critiques against the gender gap literature in political science, they point to an extremely narrow conceptualization of political knowledge in mainstream measures. This reductive approach results in viewing any knowledge or individuals with knowledges arising outside of what is considered ‘political,’ among women and historically marginalized groups, as not being useful to government and legislative politics.

Stolle and Gidengil's study, in particular, points to the importance of positionality in terms of who has access to resources that allow one to obtain and implement political knowledge. Further, these discrepancies of politically relevant knowledge between different social categories bring into question who has the power over public understanding of what is considered political knowledge and what the purpose of that knowledge might be.

Mainstream measures of political knowledge claim to demonstrate the most important aspects of political knowledge (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996); however, in actuality, these measures reflect who has the power to define what political knowledge is and what it should be used for, which is about upholding the status quo. Actors who hold positions of power within dominant political systems uphold the status quo by controlling what is considered 'political.' By denoting only knowledge of national electoral and legislative politics as political knowledge, the dominant political structures maintain control over what is deemed to be of primary concern to the public sphere, whether or not such assumptions have any bearing on the realities navigated by diversely positioned groups and members of diversely imagined political publics. Casting feminized issues into the private sphere means that women and minorities will continue to be accountable for them, without opportunities to change them, ensuring their lack of influence and continued exclusion from dominant political systems. This begs the question of where the gap in political knowledge really lies.

2.4 Appointment Politics in Canada

Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet demonstrates a unique implementation of an affirmative action approach. It does not fit neatly into any of the dominant types of political gender quotas because it is not fully a party quota, legislative quota, or reserved seats quota. If we use Dahlerup's classification scheme, Trudeau's quota is actually operating at an even higher fourth level, as the goal was not to increase the number of women elected to the legislature, but to increase the numbers appointed at the executive level. In Canada, cabinet ministers are, in theory, highly esteemed and hold much more power in government compared with backbench Members of Parliament, without portfolios.

When constructing cabinets, there are many factors Prime Ministers take into consideration. These often include competing concerns such as strategic, constitutional, representational, party, and personal priorities (Kerby 2009, 594). However, there are some

general factors that influence a Prime Minister's decision regarding which MPs to appoint to cabinet. According to Kerby (2009), the most important factor is previous political experience, especially cabinet experience. Other significant factors include legal background, electoral success (margin of victory), and various representational concerns including unspecified levels of ethnic, linguistic, gender, and geographic representation (594).

For geographic representation, it is customary that all regions, if not all provinces, should be represented in cabinet. However, a party's success in each province or region constrains this factor. Often, a Prime Minister's options are extremely limited in some areas of the country, limiting their choices (Kerby 2009). This limitation applies to other representational concerns including linguistic, ethnic, and gender differences, as well.

Looking at the factor of gender, the proportion of Canadian female cabinet ministers has generally increased over time. Historically, the proportion of female cabinet ministers has been higher than the proportion of women MPs in the governing party as well as in the House of Commons in general (Kerby 2009, 598). However, before Trudeau's cabinet, the highest proportion of women in a cabinet was a meager twenty-six percent.

While Trudeau took many of the customary factors into account, such as geographical and linguistic representation, it is clear that he has moved beyond these typical concerns when creating his cabinet. We can see a shift from an emphasis on experiential factors, to directing more attention towards demographic identities in representational politics.

When Trudeau unveiled the members of his cabinet, he declared the creation of "A cabinet that looks like Canada," (Bhaskar 2015). Although his campaign promise focused on producing a gender-balanced cabinet, Trudeau created an ethnically, culturally, and religiously diverse, as well as diversely abled, cabinet. This diversity included immigrants, ethnic minorities, Indigenous individuals, religious minorities, and disabled individuals (Bhaskar 2015).

2.5 Diversity and News Media

News media create important implications for the symbolic representation of women and minorities in politics, as they are potentially a vital intermediary between politicians and their constituents (Trimble et al. 2017; Fleras 2011). The main way Canadians learned about Trudeau's diverse cabinet and the individual MPs appointed to the different ministries was

through news media, meaning that said media had a lot of power over public perceptions of the cabinet and individual ministers.

Research on news media often focuses on various veiled biases. Fleras (2011) argues that while mainstream media claims neutrality:

To the contrary, they are laced with commercial values, systemic biases, and hidden agendas that draw attention to mainstream aspects of reality as normal and necessary. Other aspects are discredited as irrelevant or inferior or problematic because they fall outside of normative standards, (5).

This pattern is reflected in research on women's and minority's news coverage in Canada. A significant contribution made in this area of study has been the theory of gendered mediation. Historically women faced 'symbolic annihilation' within news coverage of politics, meaning they were left out of political news coverage, rendering them invisible (Robinson and Saint-Jean 1991; Tolley 2015). As women have become a more prominent force within Canadian politics, research has shifted to focus on how news coverage of women differs from that of men. Studies have shown a pattern of women and minorities often being framed as the "other" in political news coverage, with white male politicians being framed as the norm. Many studies have found a 'gendered mediation' in news coverage of politics, meaning that news media representation of female politicians is filtered through a masculine lens (Gidengil and Everitt 1999; Trimble et. al 2013; Gerrits et. al 2017).

According to Gidengil and Everitt (2000), the concept of gendered mediation means "first, that the behaviour of women politicians will be subject to more analysis than their male counterparts' and, second, that the women's coverage will reflect traditional masculine conceptions of politics" (106). The result of this, as shown through their analysis of news coverage of the 1993 Canadian Leaders' Debates, is that women are marginalized within news reports when they fail to conform to masculine norms. However, if they do perform in ways that reflect traditional masculinity, media will emphasize the stereotypically feminine aspects of the candidate. Tolley (2015) builds on the gender mediation literature to suggest an adjacent theory of racial mediation in media coverage of politics. She argues that politics are covered in a way by news media in ways that reflects hegemonic cultural norms including the assumption that whiteness is standard (36).

These mediations are often accomplished through the mobilization of sexist and racist stereotypes. For example, research has shown that Indigenous peoples in Canada are often portrayed as either dangerous, therefore needing to be controlled, or as victims in need of government assistance (Fleras 2011, 16). As for coverage of female politicians, reproduction of gender norms is often accomplished by focusing on women's public involvements in the stereotypical 'care-issues' (Robinson and Saint-Jean 1991), when the emphasis does not descend to matters of wardrobe, hairstyle, and the impact of women's careers on the family household dynamics.

Tolley (2015) argues that even when news coverage of racialized politicians is not explicitly racist, "race influences the stories' framing, angle, discourse, and effect" (32), which create and reinforce cultural and structural biases. According to Fleras (2011), such biases developed from the androcentric and Eurocentric perspective of news media. He argues that biases like these are partly due to structures of news media having been shaped by the fact that "Historically, mainstream media were institutionally gendered in form and function – designed by, for, and about male interests, experiences, and priorities," (77). Similarly, news media have been structured in ways that see European values as desirable and normal. However, he also recognizes that this pattern in news media could result from a lack of diversity within the news organizations themselves.

On a more insidious note, research has also shown that news coverage of Canadian politics has reified the idea that men are the true 'experts' on politics. A longitudinal study of news coverage of provincial elections by Barber, Levitan, and Kappler (2018) found that a majority of individuals who were interviewed on broadcast news networks about the elections, and framed as "experts," were men. The researchers theorized that this occurred not simply because of discrimination, but also because men occupy more well-paying, high-status jobs and political positions that would result in news media considering them "experts."

Canadian media perspectives on the intersections of descriptive representation and affirmative action are important to analyze because they constitute a substantial component of access to and commentary upon democratic processes, ultimately impacting individual and collective political choices and the levels of legitimacy Canadian institutions attain. They also point to the possibilities inherent in a diverse cabinet and the future of representational and appointment politics in Canada.

2.6 Conclusion

The various perspectives outlined in this chapter represent a range of Canadian standpoints and arguments from within the existing scholarly literature on diverse representation, or lack thereof, and their relationships with neo-liberal democratic norms and the current status quo. These perspectives include support for affirmative action taken towards diverse representation, skepticism that affirmative action will create substantive, structural changes, and a pushback against affirmative action based on a meritocracy approach. These perspectives have implications for what policies and practices are used by governments and political parties for increasing women's and minorities' representation in government institutions and for the ways that newspaper journalists respond to changes in those practices. Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet represents an innovative shift in appointment politics in Canada and responses to this shift have yet to be critically analyzed. News media representations of this diverse cabinet are important to analyze through critical and intersectional lenses because they ultimately impact individual and collective political choices, critical public awareness, and the levels of legitimacy Canadian institutions attain in their relationships with Canada's increasingly diverse public sphere.

For this reason, I have chosen to apply feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) to the newspaper stories I have gathered on Trudeau's 'cabinet that looks like Canada.' FCDA enables me to examine selected stories for the ways that they engage specific arguments about representative governance, legitimacy, quotas, political knowledge, and the practices of inclusion, or mobilize stereotypical constructions of gender, race, ability, class, and other dimensions of social difference to reinforce centrist politics that reinforce patriarchal settler colonial features of Canadian governance.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

3.1 Introduction

Utilizing critical feminist and intersectional lenses, I will examine journalistic perspectives through feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) of newspaper coverage that engages Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet. Addressing how news media frames and constructs issues surrounding Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet requires a critical discourse analysis because how those issue are presented helps to inform public understandings of diverse political representation. The selection of news media to be reviewed requires a feminist analysis because of the focus of gender in Trudeau's cabinet. Further, the central commitment to illuminating the structures of power in FCDA is consistent with my critical feminist and intersectional lenses, as outlined in the previous chapter. Analyzing newspapers allows me access to past and current debates surrounding Trudeau's cabinet and the politics of representation in Canada. Drawing upon the theoretical perspectives and literature review provided above and using FCDA as my methodological framework, I will analyze the underlying assumptions and power dynamics informing discussions of Trudeau's gender balanced cabinet as they are engaged by a diverse set of journalistic frames and, therefore, audiences.

3.2 Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Fairclough (2010), the ideological formations informing circulating discourses are informed by discursive norms that construct subjectivities functioning without any awareness of the coercive nature of this process. This construction naturalizes prevailing normative frameworks or ideologies, sometimes referred to as 'common sense' (754). Ideologies are systems of ideas that exist to confirm a political perspective, serve the interests of a certain group of people, or perform a functional role in society (Synnowich 2019). Critical feminist and intersectional theories are concerned with deconstructing naturalized hierarchies that result from

ideologies around gender and other identity categories. For Fairclough, the task of any critical discourse analysis is to denaturalize these underlying ideologies. My study utilizes FCDA, which focuses more specifically on intersectional gendered representation issues, though not exclusively.

FCDA aims to raise awareness of the discursive dimensions of social issues involving dominance and discrimination (Lazar 2018, 372). When dominating ideologies are discursively reproduced, they support the reproduction of discrimination and inequity within our society and its institutions. This connection between the micro (discourse) and the macro (institutional structures) is at the core of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2010). The goal of critical discourse analysis is to challenge discourses that support the current status quo in an effort to open up more socially progressive possibilities (Lazar 2017). Using FCDA as a framework, this research deconstructs and interrogates the ideologies found in journalistic reports and discussions regarding women's and minorities' political appointments and representation in Canada.

According to Lazar (2017) there are six principles of FCDA that will inform this research project. The first is that gender is itself an ideology. Discussions surrounding political representation rarely challenge gender essentialism, which is shown by gender most often being constructed as a binary in most journalistic representations, and indeed, most political platforms, until very recently. As well, the principle that recognizes gender as ideology involves taking an intersectional approach to my analysis, as gender does not exist independent of other socially constructed identities including sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, class, age, and culture, among others, all of which carry with them different assumptions, or unexamined status quo "common sense" understandings (373).

Second, power serves as a central focus of feminist critical discursive investigations. This principle means that there should be a focus on how language and discourse contribute to belief systems that become hegemonic, or 'common knowledge,' such that the researcher has a responsibility to consider their role in the production and reproduction of various ideologies (Harvey 2020), especially of the status quo of prevailing power relations.

Third, FCDA shares the view with CDA that discourse constitutes and is constituted by social practices. Thus, FCDA aims to investigate how gender interacts with other social identities in different social situations (Lazar 2017, 374). As well, there needs to be a recognition that the transmission of messages and their meanings from media to audience is not a straightforward,

linear process, but is rather negotiated, with the audience having some or, at times, considerable agency. With the shift towards new media platforms, many cultural texts are becoming increasingly responsive to audience feedback.

Fourthly, Lazar states that FCDA must include a praxis of critical reflexivity. As with all critical research, FCDA does not view the production of a perfectly neutral human researcher to be possible. Every researcher is and has been shaped by their evolving social locations. Often, researcher experiences and interests inform their research focus. Thus, critical reflexivity is important so that researchers do not inadvertently reproduce patterns of privilege/power.

Fifthly, FCDA is a form of activism, meaning that it should strive for a more socially just society. This principle can be achieved, in part, through critique, resistance, or other forms of activism (Lazar 2017, 374). Lastly, Lazar adds transnationalism as an important focus for FCDA research, as feminist politics are not subjected to strict geographical borders. One way I have enacted this final principle is by including international newspaper articles in my data selection.

According to Hall's (1980) encoding/decoding model of communication, there are three possible readings of texts. Dominant readings are the intended meanings of a text, which are often structured by hegemonic knowledges (Harvey 2020). The recognition that the reading of texts is neither static nor a predetermined process has led to deeper understanding of the possibilities of negotiated and oppositional readings. Negotiated readings include some intended and resistant readings, which often arise from individuals' social locations. Oppositional readings occur when the messages of a text are viewed from a completely different perspective, such as in critical readings, which I am attempting in this review of journalistic responses to Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet.

I have chosen to analyze newspapers for a number of reasons. First, this research takes the perspective that newspapers both reflect and inform Canadians' attitudes towards government practices and policies (Richardson 2007). Newspapers can be a mode for change and transformational social justice. However, they can also be used to reinforce the status quo (Goldstein 2018). This understanding of newspapers reflects the power held by news outlets. There has also been a shift in the role and positions of newspapers in the digital age, which has several consequences. On one hand, digital copies of newspapers are increasingly easy to access and responses to news articles can become almost instantaneous with comment sections. However, under neoliberal pressures, turnaround times are increasingly short and the focus of

news companies may have shifted away from their historical role in producing investigative journalism to a business model that requires them to produce increasing capital. This shift has the potential to skew the kinds of perspectives and issues represented. Due to FCDA's focus on analyzing power and domination within society, I believe this transition makes newspaper journalism an important discursive practice to analyze. Challenging the ideologies found within selected newspapers becomes crucial in developing an understanding of how power and dominance relations operate in contemporary neoliberal Canadian society (Van Dijk 1993, 250).

Second, newspapers often play a key role in legitimizing a nation-state (Goldstein 2018). While newspapers are often critical towards individual politicians or specific governmental practices or laws, they do not go so far as to question the legitimacy of the nation-state itself. I view this perceived and expected commitment to state legitimacy in journalism as an example of a naturalized ideology as discussed by Fairclough (2010). Lastly, specialized newspapers can choose to amplify the voices of marginalized social groups who might not otherwise have been taken seriously. Thus, analyzing categories of newspapers such as Indigenous and other ethnic newspapers allows me to access marginalized perspectives that are seldom engaged or amplified in mainstream journalism. Also, Fleras (2011) argues that these alternative or community forms of news media often embrace priorities and frames that are oppositional to those of mainstream news media and can thus be sites of activism.

3.3 Data Selection and Summary

News items have been purposively selected based on my thesis topic from the *Canadian Newstream* electronic database or directly from selected newspapers' websites. The time frames chosen for examination were between October 1, 2015 and January 31, 2016, so immediately after the new cabinet was announced, and September 1, 2018 to April 30, 2019, during which time some of the more prominent and controversial removals and defections from the original cabinet garnered considerable public and journalistic comment. The actual periods of news item coverage ended up being between October 20, 2015 and December 28, 2015 for the first timeframe and between January 11, 2019 and April 24, 2019 for the second timeframe, based on actual available stories.

According to the 2019 annual *Newspapers 24/7* report conducted by News Media Canada, eighty-eight percent of Canadians say they read newspapers on a weekly basis, with

eighty-three percent of those readers accessing all or some of their newspaper articles online. However, all newspapers are not accessible to all portions of the population. Even though new media platforms have increased accessibility to newspapers for some portions of the population, there continue to be many barriers. These include language, socioeconomic status, level of interest in a particular area or category of newspaper, the fact that many online newspapers contain pay walls, and lack of time due to neoliberal pressures towards productivity. For this reason, among others, I have aimed to examine a variety of newspapers, rather than simply analyzing the most popularly consumed newspapers in Canada. These include national and local papers from across Canada, as well as international, Indigenous, ethnic, and student newspapers. For barometers of international coverage, I selected from the United States due to their proximity and therefore greater coverage of Canadian news, the United Kingdom due to their historical role in Canada's settler-colonialism, and China, due to its geographical distance. This range of materials allows me to access different audiences, populations, and geographic locations, and to compare uptake of the issues and debates across diversely imagined publics and places.

My rough goal for the number of articles to analyze was originally around one hundred. I believed this amount would offer enough depth and variety to give me an accurate snapshot of the various discussions surrounding Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet. However, I did not have a specific target or number, where I would no longer look for articles to include once that volume of selected articles was reached. The criteria I used to determine either inclusion or elimination of particular articles were: 1) higher levels of circulation; 2) relevance of topic, opting for deeper analysis in which passing references were eliminated; 3) at least one article was sought from each province and territory from each time period, aiming to include all of the on topic articles from the one or two top circulating newspapers in each province or region; 4) from the international press, aiming for three to five in-depth articles from each period published in English; 5) all on topic articles from Indigenous and ethnic papers published in English; and 6) student newspapers representing the West Coast, Prairies, Central Canada, and the Maritimes. In total, I have selected 130 articles for analysis. The following is a summary of my data sources:

Table 3.1 Data Summary First Timeframe (Total = 66)

City Newspapers	Globe & Mail	National Post	Indigenous	International	Ethnic/Religious	Student
BC - 4	9	3	2	U.S. - 2	New Pathway - 1	AB - 1
AB - 1				U.K. - 2	New Canadian Media - 2	SK - 1
SK - 3				South China Morning Post - 1	Montreal Community Contact - 2	ON - 2
MB - 4						NS - 2
ON - 13						
QC - 3						
Maritimes - 6						
Territories - 2						

Table 3.2 Data Summary Second Timeframe (Total = 64)

City Newspapers	Globe & Mail	National Post	Indigenous	International	Ethnic/Religious	Student
BC - 1	26	1	3	U.S. - 2	The Epoch Times - 1	AB - 2
AB - 2					Montreal Community Contact - 1	ON - 3
SK - 3						NS - 1
MB - 4						
ON - 4						
QC - 3						
Maritimes - 5						
Territories - 3						

Language imposed a significant limitation for my data collection, as I only included newspapers that published versions in English. This mainly limited my searches in Quebec, a

constraint that is reflected in my data, both for city and student newspapers. This constraint also limited my inclusion of international and ethnic newspapers, an outcome that is also reflected in my data. Though they are small, I wanted to include these limited data sets, regardless, because the lack of newspapers in those categories could also be due to a general lack of discussion on the topic of Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet in specific newspaper types. If that were to be the case, I wanted to ensure I included the snapshots of discussions from these narrower categories of smaller newspapers.

Originally, I planned on comparing the analyses of newspapers across provinces; however, I quickly discovered that the same companies owned many of the city newspapers. This makes analysis across locations virtually impossible, as many articles in these newspapers show up on multiple newspapers' websites, which is where I obtained many of the articles. As a result, the categorization of newspaper articles by province or region is not necessarily reflective of local realities. Throughout my data collection process, I attempted to include a variety of newspapers by ownership; however, multiple media corporations have a monopoly on the higher circulating newspapers in some regions of the country, a significant constraint on the investigative capacity of surviving newspapers. Corporate ownership of Canadian daily newspapers mainly includes Postmedia throughout western and central Canada and Saltwire Network throughout the Maritime provinces. The following is a summary of the newspapers I analyzed from each of these companies:

Table 3.3 Summary of Newspapers by Ownership

<u>Postmedia</u>	<u>Saltwire Network</u>
<i>Vancouver Sun</i>	<i>The Chronicle Herald</i>
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	<i>Cape Breton Post</i>
<i>Edmonton Journal</i>	<i>The Guardian (Charlottetown)</i>
<i>Saskatoon Star Phoenix</i>	
<i>Regina Leader Post</i>	
<i>Montreal Gazette</i>	
<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	
<i>National Post</i>	

In most provinces I was able to find papers from other media companies, however, I was unable to do so for the Maritime provinces.

3.4 Steps of Analysis

Using FCDA as my framework, I drew upon discourse analysis methods from Fairclough (2010) and Srivastava and Hopwood (2009). I examined selected newspaper articles with the understanding that qualitative data analysis finds “concepts and themes, [which] when taken together, will provide the best explanation of “what’s going on” in an inquiry,” (Srivastava and Hopwood 2009, 77). Using the concepts and themes that emerged from the data, I was then able to connect the emergent discourse strands with larger societal issues and power dynamics (Fairclough 2010, 242-251).

I analyzed the selected newspaper articles in a number of steps. First, I conducted a general theming of all of the selected articles (Ian Dey 1993). For this step, I reviewed printed copies of the articles and tagged any sections that were pertinent to my topic or that appeared to reflect emergent patterns of words, phrases, or ideas. Next, I input the articles into NVIVO, a qualitative data analysis software. I have chosen to use NVIVO for a number of reasons. First, the large quantity of newspapers I have selected for analysis would have been difficult to examine fully without inputting into software for assisted analysis. NVIVO enabled me to analyze more complex relationships within the newspaper articles in a more timely fashion than would have been possible by hand. Specifically, the tool of ‘queries’ in NVIVO is helpful in understanding complex patterns in the data. The main tool I have found useful is the ‘crosstab query,’ which allows me to cross compare the frequencies of different attributes of selected newspaper articles, cases, and/or codes (called ‘nodes’ in NVIVO). Second, using the analyzing tools from NVIVO adds to the trustworthiness of my research, as it brings another form of assessment to the research project that is less dependent on my own perspective and biases.

The first step I undertook in NVIVO was to converge and organize my initial tags into a hierarchy of nodes. This step helped me to connect ideas and recognize major themes within the data (Ian Dey 1993). I then used my hierarchy of nodes to conduct another stage of theming and categorization of the articles with a focus on uncovering the ideologies present in the discourses examined (Fairclough, 2010). Questions I used to sort and analyze the data include:

- What ideologies or ‘common-sense’ background knowledge is found in the piece?
- How are the subjects of the newspapers constructed through discursive norms?
- What stereotypes are used?
- Who is considered an expert and on what basis and topics?

- What explanations are evoked? (e.g. Trudeau or particular party's motive)
- What democratic norms are evoked? For what purposes?
- Does the perspective of the piece support or challenge the status quo?
- Who is the intended audience of the piece (based on available circulation stats)?
- How is the 'gender-balanced cabinet' categorized in the piece?
- How aware does the author of the piece appear to be engaging with the multi-dimensional, intersectional approach to descriptive representation?
- How does the piece engage various perspectives on representational politics?
- How does the article try to legitimize or undermine Trudeau's model for designing a more inclusive cabinet?
- What factors does the piece discuss in regard to representation (e.g. Regional, demographic, etc.)?
- How is Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet portrayed in the article?
- How did journalistic views or opinions on Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet change?

The next stage of analysis was another read through all the selected newspaper articles to collect any instance of each code I may not have found during the previous stages of review. This step included tagging each mention of a minister or potential minister and categorizing them by gender and ethnicity. I then used these tags and categories in crosstab queries in NVIVO to gain a deeper understanding of how each demographic was discursively constructed. Lastly, I used my hierarchy of nodes to identify the relationships of power and domination present and connected the discourses to wider societal and institutional issues (Srivastava and Hopwood 2009). My analysis also includes any discursive silences found within the newspaper articles.

As I began to analyze the selected articles and their content, it became clear that the positionality of the journalists themselves influenced the content of the newspapers analyzed. Journalist positionality, particularly in relation to gender and race, may interact with the structures of power that are the topic of my analysis. This led to a further analysis of the demographics of the journalists. The following is a summary of the (known) demographics of the journalists who wrote of each selected article:

Table 3.4 Demographics of Journalists

	City	National Post	Globe & Mail	International	Indigenous	Ethnic and Community	Total
Men	23	3	13	1	1	5	46
White	20	3	10	1	0	0	34
Racialized	1	0	3	1	0	5	9
Indigenous	2	0	0	0	1	0	3
Women	36	1	15	5	2	1	59
White	21	0	12	5	0	0	38
Racialized	4	1	0	0	0	1	5
Indigenous	1	0	3	0	2	0	6
Unknown*	10	0	7	1	2	1	21
Total	69	4	35	7	5	7	127

*Includes editorials and unknown demographics

I did not include student newspapers journalists' demographics because 1) information about the student journalists are not readily available and 2) I understood the lack of information as an attempt to provide student journalists with some semblance of privacy from the general public, which I wanted to respect.

There are a few observations from this analysis to keep in mind throughout the discussion. First, the mainstream newspaper journalists, which include those working for the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, international, and city newspaper, are overwhelmingly white. In contrast, the alternative newspaper journalists, who are from the Indigenous and ethnic/community newspapers, are exclusively Indigenous and racialized individuals. Second, across all of the mainstream newspapers excluding the *National Post* there was more female than male journalists. On the one hand, this could be viewed as an improvement in the gender equity operating within the structures of mainstream news media. However, it can also be viewed as a ghettoization of this topic into the category of 'women's issues,' which could therefore be seen as a topic that more women should write about. The *National Post* is a conservative newspaper and the demographics of the journalists writing the articles analyzed may be representative of the newspapers' conservative values.

Although my research took these phases, I also took an iterative approach (Srivastava and Hopwood 2009), which involves moving back and forth between the data, the existing literature, my theoretical frameworks, and the research questions. This approach often involved creating, reconsidering, and re-organizing my nodes or trying new queries within NVIVO, which allowed

for a reflexive and thorough examination of the data. I continued this process until it no longer generated any new insights.

This chapter presented an overview of my methodology, data selection, and steps of my analysis. It described FCDA as my methodology, which analyzes the naturalization of hegemonic ideologies within discourses with a focus on gender. It also outlined my data selection process and summarized the resulting data sets under examination. Lastly, it detailed the general steps of my analysis and explained the advantages of the iterative approach undertaken.

Chapter 4

Results and Discussion

Discursive Construction of Politics in News Media

4.1 Introduction

News media representations impact the symbolic representation and, in turn, the sociological legitimacy of government institutions. Journalists have the power to discursively construct political practices, government institutions, and individual politicians. How journalists talk about diverse representation can reinforce common-knowledge understandings of politics and representation, thus reproducing the status quo. This chapter is broken up into five sections regarding how journalists talk about appointment politics, merit, cabinet ministers, women in politics, and scandal. These sections represent the major themes that emerged from data analysis that have important implications for diverse representation in Canadian politics.

4.2 How Journalists Talk about Appointment Politics

Although Trudeau's campaign promise focused only on appointing equal numbers of men and women, he created a cabinet that was ethnically, physically, and culturally and individually diverse. There was a clear shift from the typical factors emphasized when appointing cabinet ministers, such as geographical, linguistic and experiential, towards more demographically descriptive identities.

Many of the articles analyzed from the first timeframe were published before Trudeau named his cabinet members and consisted of speculation regarding who might turn out to be top cabinet picks. Due to the important role of cabinet ministers in the Canadian government, it is no surprise that a large portion of newspaper coverage from the first timeframe focused on the potential candidates for different Ministries and on discussing the factors behind those decisions. This included both the factors journalists and newspapers wanted or anticipated to be included in Trudeau's appointment decisions, as well as a description of factors they presumed were considered after Trudeau made the appointments. Various democratic norms were invoked when

discussing the reasoning behind Trudeau's diverse cabinet as well as justification for journalistic perspectives presented.

Geographical representation is an historically important factor for political appointments in Canada, especially the federal cabinet. Geographical political communities continued to be a main concern within the newspaper coverage analysed, as shown in these passages from across Canada:

A local connection in Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's debut cabinet was always a longshot. A long, longshot.... what is the likelihood of increased Atlantic Canadian representation? (*Cape Breton Post*, Contributed Content)

B.C. without single voice for regional issues in federal cabinet... "A regional minister is very valuable, not just to the government but to the province," said John Fraser, who was B.C.'s political boss when Joe Clark was Canada's Progressive Conservative prime minister in 1979-80. (*Vancouver Sun*, Peter O'Neil)

Regional representation is vital in a Canadian cabinet. (*Globe and Mail*, Editorial Board)

Trudeau did appoint at least one minister from every province. Manitoba has two cabinet ministers in Trudeau's government. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, Mia Rabson)

These passages show that geographical representation continues to be a valued aspect of cabinet appointments from the Maritimes to the west coast to the prairies and central Canada. While many factors that have been historically important in appointment politics in Canada remain significant, there was also recognition in the first timeframe that there had been a shift towards considering various other demographic factors as expressed by these passages:

"If we want to fully live and breathe the multicultural doctrine, this is a propitious moment for the prime minister-elect to have a diverse cabinet." (*Times Colonist*, Cindy Harnett)

All Trudeau has really done with his cabinet that "looks like Canada" is grasp that in 2015, such geographical differences are only one of the many identities Canadians have, and only one of the ways Canadians have legitimate, distinct interests and perspectives. (*Edmonton Journal*, Editorial Board)

This last passage explains a potential reason for the shift away from simple geographical political communities to more complex demographic representation in Canadian institutions. As Canada becomes more diverse and multicultural, as well as more globalized on the world scale, the identities around which Canadians organize our politics around may be shifting towards more community-based factors, with a focus on shared language, culture, and history (Sorensen 2006, 197).

This shift in political communities could be especially true for ethnic and sub-national groups who have complicated relationships with the Canadian state and a "Canadian" identity, such as Indigenous peoples and "ethnic" Canadian groups such as "Black-Canadians" or "Indo-Canadians." The significance of the diverse representation in Trudeau's cabinet was certainly felt by these communities, as reflected in these passages from specialized newspapers as well as an article in the *Globe and Mail* by two first-generation Canadian university students:

He says Trudeau has taken some positive steps in appointing two Indigenous MPs to major portfolios. "It's fantastic to see the rise of Indigenous members of cabinet in such senior positions," Smith says. "I think we can all applaud that as a step in the right direction to reconcile what has been historically a colonial relationship from Ottawa to Indigenous people and having prominent members of cabinet should be able to change the conversation and recognize the legitimate claims of Indigenous peoples around a whole host of things." (*Eagle Feather News*, Fraser Needham)

After Trudeau's cabinet reveal, we no longer have to ask 'Am I Canadian enough?' (*Globe and Mail*, Dongwoo Kim and Navneet Khinda)

Diversity of all kinds was pivotal for Justin Trudeau in the recent election, and on Wednesday, the 23rd Prime Minister of Canada kept one of his main campaign promises. We now have a cabinet that looks like the rest of Canada. Diverse and

gender balanced “because it’s 2015” as Trudeau put it. (*New Canadian Media*, Ranjit Bhaskar)

These passages show the enthusiasm and overall positive response from minority groups who finally saw themselves being represented in the Liberal Cabinet, without being tokenized. However, some journalists showed concern that the diversity within Trudeau’s cabinet was only for appearances:

But symbols don't change realities. If that were the case, the election of Barack Obama to lead the world's most powerful country would have erased racism in the United States. Unfortunately, it didn't. (*Globe and Mail*, Lysiane Gagnon)

This form of power imbalance is seen everywhere, including Hollywood, when women and women of colour are casted to show “diversity” and “equality” but end up playing roles that enforce stereotypes. It shows who really is in power and who is benefiting—and it’s not women.... It shouldn’t be necessary to praise someone for not being sexist simply because it’s 2015. (*The Charlatan*, Student Journalist)

However, symbols can matter, such as the deliberate use of language to show respect, as shown in this passage from *Eagle Feather News*:

The National Chief welcomed the use of the word “Indigenous” in the portfolio, noting that this is the preferred and accepted term in Canada and the international sphere. (*Eagle Feather News*, Staff)

Symbolism of all kinds may be especially important to those who have been historically underrepresented and mistreated by the Canadian government:

For a Sikh Canadian, Harjit Sajjan's rise to Minister of National Defence is truly an emotional experience, with vivid memories of discrimination and fear-mongering. In 1990, Baltej Singh Dhillon had to fight for his right to wear his turban at work. Twenty-five years later, the chief protector of our borders will be wearing one to work every day. (*Globe and Mail*, Dongwoo Kim and Navneet Khinda)

The passage from the *Globe and Mail* was written by two first generation Canadian students and directly expresses how seeing ethnic minorities symbolically represented in Trudeau's cabinet had influenced the authors' view of themselves and their relationship to Canada.

Some journalists speculated that this shift towards more diverse representation might be a permanent feature of the federal Cabinet:

Gender-balanced cabinets the future?; May hopes Trudeau's promised 50-50 batch of federal ministers will set lasting precedent. (*Times-Colonist*, Cindy Harnett)

It is also precedent-setting insofar as it will be tough for future party leaders and government contenders to get away from stating their position on gender equality and minority representation in government. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, Matthew Kerby and Jennifer Curtin)

Once the precedent of diverse representation in the federal cabinet has been set, it could be difficult for future governments of all political stripes not to fulfill this promise as it could be seen to be moving "backwards." Even if a more conservative party were (predictably) not choose to appoint a gender-balanced or diverse cabinet, Trudeau's gender-balanced cabinet may have set a precedent for diverse representation at all levels of government to become a more salient public topic, both for political party platforms and within news media.

There was also been some journalistic recognition of the relationship between the state's legitimacy and diverse, descriptive representation. Symbolic representation is not only important for how individuals view themselves, but also for sociological legitimacy, as explained in one city newspaper article:

She added "visibility of diversity is important...If you don't see yourself represented you say 'OK, yeah, they are talking on my behalf, but do they know what I want, who I am, what are my needs?' But, if you see yourself represented, you trust more the government or the cabinet," Brunelle said. (*The Chronicle Herald*, Corey Leblanc)

As Grossman (2012) argues, one aspect of legitimacy is an institution being fair and unbiased. People from different demographic backgrounds often have different life experiences and thus

they bring with them different perceptions and either real or perceived biases, as this one passage explains:

For much of Canada's 148-year history, a charmed circle of wealthy white men directed the country's fortunes. That left wide swaths of the population with little or no direct say in how they were governed. (*Montreal Gazette*, Janet Bagnall)

As reflected in this passage, for democratic legitimacy to stay intact, people need to feel they have a say in the laws that affect them. According to Grossman, this is due to the inherent biases that develop from individual experiences and positions within society. This means that a lack of diverse representation in government institutions leads to a lack of sociological legitimacy, especially for the underrepresented groups.

However, there was also some concern from journalists that the affirmative action undertaken for Trudeau's diverse cabinet may have prevented the most 'meritorious' individuals from getting spots in Cabinet, as evident in this passage:

We'll bet not a few secretly worry that talent and competence may have had too little importance in calculations that required gender balance, and a greater presence for youth, aboriginal Canadians and Canadians with immigrant backgrounds. (*Edmonton Sun*, Editorial Board)

This passage reflects a popular concern, particularly expressed throughout the first timeframe, that a prevailing model of meritocracy was not adhered to. Not all journalists were as explicit about this concern; rather, it is veiled within the discursive construction of the various demographics of cabinet ministers.

4.3 How Journalists Talk About Merit

The question of a particular minister's or potential minister's qualifications or 'merits' was a common topic throughout the first timeframe. What facets of the individuals' preparation for a cabinet role were included or excluded can illuminate what the selected journalists consider to be important qualifications for being a minister, which in turn reveals what knowledges they consider to be vital to good governance, party politics, and leadership. Unsurprisingly, previous

political experience was a main focus for many journalists, both from mainstream and alternative newspapers:

An accountant and financial analyst and visiting professor at Ryerson University in Toronto, he was an MP from 2004-2011 and served as parliamentary secretary to the PM and a Liberal critic for various portfolios. (*New Canadian Media*, Ranjit Bhaskar)

There are also a number of veteran Liberal MPs to choose from, including Judy Foote, Kirsty Duncan and Carolyn Bennett. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Kate Heartfield)

Ralph Goodale, a veteran Saskatchewan MP and former cabinet minister, is expected to be announced as deputy prime minister and House leader. (*The Star*, Bob Hepburn)

Likewise, the amount of “rookie” ministers, or MPs, that either had no previous ministerial experience or no political experience at all, was a key concern for journalists from a variety of newspapers:

Some of the top jobs went to rookie ministers (*Globe and Mail*, Daniel Leblanc, Steven Chase, and Gloria Galloway)

Bill Morneau at finance, where the hope will be that executive experience and policy chops - he has both a master's degree in economics and an MBA - are adequate compensation for inexperience in politics. (*Vancouver Sun*, Andrew Coyne)

These factors include the size of the cabinet, gender equality, ethnic diversity, regional distribution and a balance of new and veteran MPs, but leaning to young and new versus old and experienced. (*The Star*, Bob Hepburn)

Even more so when one examines the final numbers and discovers that 18 of the ministers in Trudeau's gender-neutral, ethically diverse cabinet are rookies, having only won election for the first time 17 days ago. So much for Cuzner's and Eyking's combined 30 years of parliamentary experience, right? (*Cape Breton Post*, Contributed Content)

There are many underlying assumptions regarding the concept of “experience,” which is considered to be a main way of measuring ‘merit’ in politics and governance. While there are many structural barriers for women and minorities in politics, historically, the idea that those who represent their constituencies need to already have experience in politics has been used as justification to exclude diverse demographics in cabinet because they are more likely to be lacking in this very specific experience, often purposively, and therefore to be considered lacking in merit. This results in a cycle of women and minorities continually being underrepresented in decision-making bodies on the basis of lacking experience, and therefore, not being given the chance to gain this type of experience. The cycle of exclusion is often justified by those in powerful positions suggesting that it is for the sake of women and the minoritized groups in question because they may not be “ready,” as is evident in this passage:

The former premier cautions “if they have no parliamentary experience, it’s not always a service to them to put (women) in cabinet too quickly.” (*Montreal Gazette*, Contributed Content)

While it may be true that putting women into higher positions within patriarchal structures may be challenging, especially if they do not have much experience working within masculinized domains, this quote puts the onus onto women to adjust to those structures, rather than the structures needing to adjust to women and other excluded groups, which would be much more likely to lead to real change.

The portrayal of women and minorities as less politically experienced also renders their unique knowledges invisible:

In the end, it seemed simple, the decision to name cabinet ministers who know what it’s like to face discrimination: immigrants, the disabled, visible minorities, indigenous people and women. (*Montreal Gazette*, Janet Bagnall)

This passage reflects an understanding that different forms of knowledge are important for political institutions, particularly marginalized knowledges. Some studies within the political knowledge gap literature recognize that women and minorities have lower measurable levels of

political knowledge and participation due to their historical and continued exclusion from government and economic markets (Fraile and Gomez 2017; Kunovich and Kunovich 2016; Simon 2017). However, such studies view this as a problem that needs to be solved, rather than acknowledging that targeted groups have developed different forms of political knowledge and participation in response to that structured and deliberate exclusion. Several researchers claim that due to their historical exclusion from the political arena, women and minorities are simply less interested in politics, especially at the national or international levels (Mendez and Osborn 2010; Nash and Hoffman 2009). This claim is used to justify the narrow conceptions of political knowledge that are included in our understandings of ‘merit’ and ‘experience,’ which are typically used to exclude women and minorities from political leadership. It could be that the purported “lack of interest” actually represents skepticism about the legitimacy of status quo politics as a process for finding solutions to some of the most intractable social problems, hegemony and exclusion among them.

The assumption that everyone has the same relationship to political systems inherent within mainstream measures of political knowledge or discussions surrounding “experience” disregards women and minorities’ political participation outside of state politics. Evidence shows that women participate in political behaviours outside of national electoral and legislative politics at similar rates to men, such as attending protests or serving on local boards (Burns, Scholzman, and Verba 2001). Due to their historical exclusion from official provincial and national politics, women and minorities have been forced to find different, more localized ways of creating political change. In order to accomplish this, they have had to develop other knowledges about how to navigate, influence, and change political systems.

Although problematic, political experience, or apparent lack thereof, may have obvious connections to the specific portfolios imagined for potential cabinet ministers; however, there were many ‘merits’ discussed that have less than obvious connections to the necessary skills and tasks of being or becoming a minister. Two main topics were education level and previous careers. While lawyers have often been considered ideal candidates for political leadership roles, as they have experience in dealing with legislation and laws, other professions do not have that same direct connection, though candidates were discussed as if being in their particular profession gave them political merit:

Marc Garneau is a former astronaut from Montreal. (*Montreal Gazette*, Contributed Content)

Peter Fonseca: An Olympian who represented Canada as a marathon runner. (*New Canadian Media*, Ranjit Bhaskar)

Jane Philpott, a first-time member of parliament and family doctor. (*Montreal Gazette*, Contributed Content)

Carolyn Bennett has been an MP since 1997 and is a physician. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, Editorial Board)

As these examples show, the careers framed as adding merit to the potential of specific ministerial candidates reflect traditionally highly esteemed jobs, such as astronaut or physician. Indeed, two particular ministers, Jane Philpott and Marc Garneau, were frequently discussed in terms of their previous careers as principle justification for their appointment. It became a common understanding that Philpott's experience as a doctor would help her in her role as the Minister of Health and Garneau's experience as an astronaut would help him as Minister of Transportation. However, Carolyn Bennett's experience as a doctor was used to add merit to her resume for a leadership role outside of the Ministry of Health. Other careers that were often discussed as meritorious were business-men and -women, journalists, and scientists. All of these careers could be considered 'white-collar.' The construction of these careers as adding merit to the MPs' resumes reflects a 'common-knowledge' understanding of democratic politics as being best suited for members of Canada's middle and upper classes.

Another dimension of experience that was discussed by journalists and showcases a 'common-knowledge' view of politics relates to the level of education achieved by the MPs:

She's [MaryAnn Mihychuk] a geoscientist with a master's degree in science. She's no lightweight. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, Editorial Board)

Background: Strong academic credentials relating to business, including an MBA. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Staff)

McKenna holds a bachelor's degree in French and international relations from the University of Toronto, a graduate degree in international relations from the London School of Economics, and a law degree from McGill. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Staff)

By emphasizing higher education levels as justification, or 'merit,' for being appointed to the federal cabinet, these journalists are reifying a particular hierarchy around formal education and differently developed knowledges. Liu (2011) argues that viewing higher levels of education as meritorious is based on the assumption that everyone has equal access to a university education and that if an individual does not achieve advanced educational credentials, it is only due to a lack of effort or other personal deficiencies. She argues that because of this, meritocracy legitimates the status quo of a stratified society.

The way that journalists constructed the assets, qualifications, and qualities they consider important for political leadership is mirrored in the literature on political knowledge. In that literature, the narrow concepts that were included as measures for studying political knowledge indicate that what those researchers consider to be 'political' ends up being extremely androcentric and elitist (Stolle and Gidengil 2010).

This same pattern can be seen throughout the journalists' discussions of MPs in the articles analyzed. Not only are they elitist in how they construct politics as being designated for the middle and upper classes of society; they also have not moved beyond viewing male-dominated careers as the best prior professions for politicians. This understanding of who makes a good political leader could contribute to the lack of a wider range of individuals entering politics because more white males are being trained for the careers that are considered "meritorious" than minority groups. Further, those individuals trained outside of Canada are often considered completely merit-less. For example, the educational achievements of individuals who immigrate to Canada, specifically from countries constructed as the Global South, are often not accepted as legitimate, regardless of actual quality of education.

4.4 How Journalists Talked About Ministers

Besides 'merit,' many demographic characteristics were discussed by journalists when considering which MPs would likely be appointed to ministerial positions. These different







features correlate with various dimensions of intersectionality. The first dimension that was often mentioned by journalists was race or ethnicity.

Race and ethnicity are often contentious terms that do not have universally agreed upon definitions. Race can be defined as a group that has perceived common physical characteristics or other markers (James and Burgos 2020). Historically, race was considered a question of biology; however, scholars have rejected this claim and race is now viewed as socially constructed through the process of racialization. Racialization is the process of marking, classifying, and reproducing human differences based on skin colour, cultural differences, histories, and other fictional attributes and stories (Isoke 2016, 741). The history of racialization has been one of violence, both physical and structural, from enslavement, to colonization, to various forms of racial apartheid, and to the lingering effects of these numerous histories, the legacies of which continue to play out in the socioeconomic and political realities all around the world (741). In the case of this study, racialization occurs, in part, through social discourses found and reproduced within newspaper articles.

Conversely, ethnicity can be defined as an understanding of shared ancestry, which can be based on shared culture, language, or religion, among others (James and Burgos 2017). The term ethnicity denotes more agency in how individuals identify. As well, it acknowledges the socially constructed nature of racialized categories. For these reasons, ethnicity is the preferred term in my thesis. However, it is important to note that an individual's own experiences of racialization involve social processes, over which they generally have little control.

Critical race scholars have argued that racialization is always structured in a way that equates being white with being human, which has been the basis for the dehumanization of Black and Brown people (Isoke 2016; Weheliye 2014). This pattern of racialization can be seen in the way that journalists discuss and construct new ministers and potential ministers. A particular query I conducted in NVIVO shows how often different demographics of MPs were mentioned, based on their ethnicity:

Table 4.1 Ethnicity Mentions of Ministers or Potential Ministers in First Timeframe

Cases	Ethnicity Mentioned	Ethnicity Not Mentioned	Total
 Male - Indigenous	6	6	12
 Male - Racialized	22	16	38
 Male - White	3	50	53
 Woman - Indigenous	22	3	25
 Woman - Racialized	20	2	22
 Woman - White	3	78	81
Total	76	155	231

From this table, it is evident that when journalists discussed ministers or potential ministers in the newspaper articles analyzed, white ministers' ethnicities were very rarely mentioned, while Indigenous and other racialized ministers had their ethnicities and racialized identities mentioned repeatedly. This discursive silence, based on not naming white ministers as such, makes the default of being a Canadian equivalent with being white. Racialized bodies are then coded as foreign or "immigrants," such as in this discussion of Sikh ministers:

There are four ministers who are Sikhs or of Sikh origin: Defence Minister Harjit Singh Sajjan, Infrastructure Minister Amarjeet Sohi, Minister of Innovation, Science and Economic Development Navdeep Bains and Bardish Chagger at Small Business and Tourism. (*Globe and Mail*, Daniel Leblanc, Steven Chase, and Gloria Galloway)

By labeling specific individuals as "Sikhs or of Sikh origin" this journalist is coding the particular ministers in question as "foreign" bodies. They do not explain what is meant by "Sikh origin," though the takeaway is that being Sikh does not equal being Canadian. When racialized individuals are constructed as less Canadian than other (white) individuals, this can lead to more serious issues regarding rights and statuses. This also applies to the continued reminder of the ministers who are "immigrants:"

Maryam Monsef, a native of Afghanistan, as minister of democratic institutions
(*Montreal Gazette*, Contributed Content)

She [Bardish Chagger] was elected from Waterloo-Kitchener, Ontario where not many look like her family who emigrated from India. (*New Canadian Media*, Ranjit Bhaskar)

Maryam Monsef, Canada's first Afghan-born MP. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Kate Heartfield)

Amarjeet Sohi, the new infrastructure minister, was wrongfully imprisoned as a terrorist in his home country of India. (*The Star*, Tonda MacCharles, Les Whittington, and Bruce Campion-Smith)

Particularly problematic is the last passage stating that India is Sohi's "home country," without consulting him on where he considers 'home.' Continually reminding readers that some ministers are immigrants, even Chagger, who was born in Canada, constructs immigrants as not being Canadian, or at least not being as Canadian as their white, non-immigrant counterparts. It also has implications for attitudes towards colonialism.

Besides Indigenous peoples, all Canadian citizens are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including all white Canadians. The construction of white Canadians as the default or 'true' Canadians obscures the brutal colonization of Indigenous peoples, settlement history as an invasion of occupied lands, and the continuation of settler colonialism.

An interesting result from this particular query is that Indigenous and racialized male ministers or potential ministers had their ethnicity mentioned and not mentioned at near equal rates. There are various possible explanations for this phenomenon. First, the names of the ministers who had their ethnicity mentioned less have non-Anglo or "ethnic" sounding names, such as 'Hunter Tootoo,' 'Harjit Sajjan,' and 'Amarjeet Sohi.' These particularly "ethnic" sounding names could have been a sufficient signal of racialization in both official languages, such that the journalists did not feel the need to be more explicit. However, this explanation leaves the question of why female ministers with "ethnic" sounding names were consistently and explicitly named as foreign. Therefore, I believe another explanation for this phenomenon is

required, which can be found by looking at the specific intersecting identities of the racialized male ministers.

Intersectional analyses that could be helpful in explaining the differences in representations of racialization between male and female ministers combine Moser's concept of 'interference' and Staunæs' concept of 'saturation.' The racialized male minister whose ethnicity was most ignored was Harjit Sajjan, who was constructed as being both the epitome of masculinity, as well as an ideal Canadian citizen across many mainstream newspapers:

Harjit Sajjan, a former police officer who did four tours of duty for the Canadian Forces. (*Globe and Mail*, Staff)

Background: Sajjan (Vancouver South) is a former police officer and a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Canadian Forces. He has deployed to Bosnia-Herzegovina and served three separate deployments to Kandahar, Afghanistan. He received much recognition for his service, including the Meritorious Service Medal for reducing the Taliban's influence in Kandahar Province. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Staff)

The obvious object of the world's interest and envy is Sajjan, the Vancouver gang cop and decorated Afghan war veteran who is currently fending off a bombardment of interview requests as he prepares for his new responsibilities. (*The Star*, Allan Woods)

Harjit Sajjan, 42, a former police officer and veteran of three military deployments to Afghanistan, is now Canada's defense minister. (*Washington Post*, Ishaan Tharoor)

It is evident in these examples that Sajjan's experiences as a cop and in the military were often highlighted. Though the journalists making these remarks could have focused on other aspects of Sajjan's experiences or identities, such as his ethnicity or immigration status, thereby enacting those categorical differences, they chose mainly to focus on identifying Sajjan as a police officer and a Lieutenant in the military, both stereotypically masculine occupations. As well, both of these occupations are often thought of as nationalistic in nature, such as when those who work in the military are said to be 'serving their country.' This results in the double enactment of the categorical differences related to gender and nationalism. By emphasizing past roles associated with hegemonic masculinities, the journalists cited above repositioned Sajjan from being one of

the ‘minority ministers’ who were appointed for diversity purposes, therefore cast in an inferior role, to being in the category of strong, masculine ministers with a wealth of experience and who have thus earned their position in Cabinet.

Looking at the case of Amarjeet Sohi, whose ethnicity was mentioned and not mentioned at around equal rates, an intersectional analysis that could help explain this discursive pattern invokes Staunæs’ ‘saturation.’ Whether Sohi’s ethnicity was mentioned or not, his position was often framed by his experience as a political prisoner:

He was also wrongfully imprisoned, without charge, as a terrorist in India. He has gone on and won various awards for his efforts to promote cooperation among cultural groups. (*New Canadian Media*, Ranjit Bhaskar)

Sohi was a political prisoner in India. In 1988, while doing volunteer development work, he was arrested by authorities, accused of being a terrorist and was beaten and tortured. He was held without charges and without trial for almost two years. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Staff)

Discussions of Sohi as a ‘minority minister’ were saturated with the idea of overcoming adversity, which was also a common framing of ministers with disabilities:

Kent Hehr, a lawyer and former Liberal MLA who won in Calgary Centre. Mr. Hehr, who was left paralyzed in 1971 in a drive-by shooting, has been a prominent advocate for the rights of the disabled. (*Globe and Mail*, Staff)

The veterans affairs minister, Kent Hehr, has also overcome adversity to get to his current role. A one-time hockey player, he was struck in the neck by a bullet in a drive-by shooting, and rendered paraplegic in his early 20s. (*The Guardian*, Jessica Murphy)

Visually impaired since birth, she is a human rights lawyer and a Paralympic Games medal-winning swimmer. (*Vancouver Sun*, Mohamed Marwen Meddah)

In all of these examples, various categories of difference worked together to construct the ‘minority ministers.’ This is also an example of the process of ‘othering’ in action. Fleras (2011) argues that othering in news media is used to “legitimate and naturalize social and ethnic inequality,” (12) in support of the hegemonic ideals.

Another dimension of intersectionality that was a focus of many journalists was the level of Indigenous representation in Trudeau’s cabinet. While this aspect of Trudeau’s cabinet was largely celebrated in the newspapers analyzed, many of the ways journalists discussed Indigeneity in the cabinet reflect what Tuck and Yang (2012) consider to be ‘moves to innocence.’ While not all of the moves to innocence that Tuck and Yang have theorized were utilized by the journalists covering Trudeau’s cabinet, I have found evidence of the use of two of them.

The first ‘move to innocence’ found in newspaper articles from the first timeframe involves ‘colonial equivocation.’ This move places all forms of oppression on the same level. The result of this move is the conflation of decolonization and all social justice work in such a way that decolonization is, in fact, minimally advanced, if at all.

Tuck and Yang are explicit about settlers of all racialized groups and backgrounds making moves to innocence in an attempt to deflect attentions to their own roles in settler colonialism (10). This means that immigrants and racialized people residing within Canada are not absolved of their settler positions within settler colonialism (17). It is evident that in most journalist responses to Trudeau’s diverse cabinet appointments, equivocation regarding the plight of racialized people is presented as being equivalent to the experiences of Indigenous peoples in Canada:

Bardish Chaggar, Maryam Monsef, and Jody Wilson-Raybould remind us of our true history – that despite their under-representation in politics, immigrant and aboriginal women have been integral to Canada. (*Globe and Mail*, Dongwoo Kim and Navneet Khinda)

If there has been two groups that have been the measure of exclusion and marginalization in the Canada of old they were First Nations people and blacks. (*Globe and Mail*, Cecil Foster)

Without political power, women, the handicapped, non-white immigrants and aboriginals have had to struggle to defend their interests. (*Montreal Gazette*, Janet Bagnall)

In all of these passages the histories and political struggles of settlers of colour and Indigenous peoples are constructed as equivalent. While Tuck and Yang do not argue that all forms of racism are not serious or actionable, they do argue that settlers of color and Indigenous peoples struggles are different. They have different histories, relationships to the Canadian nation-state, and political goals. This particular move to innocence, as undertaken by journalists, makes these very particular differences ambiguous, which results in ambivalence towards decolonization because its goals are rendered invisible (Tuck and Yang 2012, 19).

The second ‘move to innocence’ I found evidence of is ‘A(s)t(e)risk peoples’ (Tuck and Yang 2012, 22). For Tuck and Yang, this move to innocence is concerned with two ways Indigenous peoples are erased in “mainstream educational research,” (22) although I believe it can also be applied to all types of public discourse. Both forms of this move to innocence are concerned with the construction of Indigenous peoples: one as “at risk” peoples and the second as ‘asterisk’ peoples. The ‘at risk’ version of this move will be utilized in this analysis.

The ‘at risk’ peoples form of this move to innocence occurs when Indigenous peoples in Canada are constructed as being problematic and dangerous, or on the other hand, as helpless, as evident in these passages from both mainstream and alternative newspapers:

Canada’s indigenous people continue to be enormously overrepresented in the country’s jails and prisons... In 2013, the Office of the Correctional Investigator reported that members of aboriginal communities make up just four per cent of Canada’s population, but account for 23 per cent of the country’s federal prison inmates (*Montreal Gazette*, Janet Bagnall)

Indigenous affairs minister Carolyn Bennett, a longtime Liberal MP who has worked extensively on First Nations issues, will oversee the implementation of a national inquiry into the cases of hundreds of missing and murdered indigenous women. (*The Guardian*, Jessica Murphy)

This gap in education quality is demonstrated by the fact that Aboriginal students exhibit a high school dropout rate four times higher than the national average. Not having a proper education only creates unskilled workers and results in poverty — and poverty creates a cycle of more underprivileged education. (*The Sheaf*, Student Journalist)

These passages show how Indigenous peoples were constructed in the data by both mainstream and alternative newspapers, demonstrating the pervasiveness of this framing of Indigenous peoples. Most often when Indigenous peoples were discussed, it was in the context of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW), educational deficiencies, and very often their over-representation in the criminal justice system. When these issues were discussed, there was zero discussion of these conditions being explicitly caused by settler colonialism. Both of these moves take the blame off of settlers and put the responsibility for redressing the resulting issues onto Indigenous peoples and governments. Especially within the lens of neo-liberalism, the issues facing Indigenous peoples are framed as self-made. Alternatively, Indigenous peoples are constructed as helpless and, therefore, having no agency.

This paradigm is also reflected in the construction of Jody Wilson-Raybould in the context of the SNC-Lavalin scandal in the second timeframe. She was often portrayed as difficult or naïve:

And courtesy of her refusal to go with the usual flow – defer to the PM, soldier on for the good of the team even when personally affronted – she is at the centre of a political culture clash that goes beyond just these Liberals. (*Globe and Mail*, Adam Raswanski)

Ms. Wilson-Raybould's complaints are wide-ranging, but have focused on two aspects of the episode: first, that a senior adviser to the prime minister used "veiled threats" to compromise the integrity of her department (*New York Times*, Sarah Lyall)

Both former ministers Jody Wilson-Raybould and Jane Philpott have made significant and potentially seriously career-limiting moves based, they have said, on their principles. (*Globe and Mail*, Martha Hall Findlay)

Or Wilson-Raybould was portrayed as a victim:

Ms. Wilson Raybould was driven out of the Liberal caucus simply for being herself and standing by her principles. She wanted to stay, and it was not for taping anyone that she should have to pay such a high price. (*Montreal Community Contact*, Alwin Spence)

As a politician who prides himself on being a feminist and on supporting Indigenous equality, turning around and coercing an Indigenous woman seems like a breach of his own values. (*UWO Gazette*, Student Journalist)

In the second time frame, there was also a more general form of a move to innocence in regards to the expulsion of Wilson-Raybould and Philpott. This move to innocence does not fall into any of the categories of moves outlined by Tuck and Yang and is a more 'general' move because it is a straightforward attempt to distance Trudeau's government from settler-guilt:

The Trudeau Liberals, for their part, say they are still hearing support from Indigenous people and leaders. Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett has said she continues to receive "very positive" feedback. (*Globe and Mail*, Ian Bailey)

Justin Trudeau's Liberals say they are still hearing support from Indigenous people and leaders, despite concerns raised publicly about Trudeau's expulsion of two ex-ministers who had been central to work on reconciliation. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, Kristy Kirkup)

Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett, who had worked closely with both, said that while the government is always mindful of triggering cynicism and concern about the relationship she tends, she is continuing to hear "very positive" feedback. (*Winnipeg Free Press*, Kristy Kirkup)

It is evident in these passages that some journalists chose to amplify the Liberal government's talking point of affirming that they have support from Indigenous peoples. Thus, these journalists are reinforcing the Liberals' attempt at distancing themselves from guilt over their mistreatment of two women, one of whom is Indigenous, within their caucus.

4.5 How Journalists Talk About Women in Politics

Due to Trudeau's promise of appointing a gender-balanced cabinet, it is no surprise that one demographic characteristic that was heavily discussed was gender. A major theme that was evident in the first timeframe included discussions of why having equal numbers of women in government institutions is important and the potential benefits that may come from more equitable gender representation. Many of the explanations closely reflected the existing research on women and politics. These explanations included greater emphasis on care issues, better governance, and greater political legitimacy, among others.

Within research outlining the reasons why women's equal representation is important, the one most often discussed is that women are more likely to prioritize 'care issues,' or concerns related to children, families, and marginalized groups. This idea was brought up many times within the articles analyzed from the first timeframe from both mainstream and alternative newspapers:

What's likely is that budget and policy priorities will further align with issues more associated with women, including family care and health, said Kelly Dittmar, who teaches political science at Rutgers University and studies gender in politics. (*Montreal Gazette*, Contribute Content)

And, we can expect that they will drag causes, long left to rot in the heap of so-called "soft issues," into the public spotlight where they have always belonged — violence against women, poverty, affordable housing, for example. (*The Star*, Catherine Porter)

Research shows that more women in political office leads to more consensus building, accountability, transparency, and more attention to issues that disproportionately affect women that are traditionally overlooked, such as childcare. (*The Charlatan*, Student Journalist)

These passages show how discussing the potential benefits of having equal numbers of women in positions of political power and decision-making can easily rely on gender stereotypes and essentialism. The idea that women are more likely to prioritize 'care issues'

essentializes the category of ‘women.’ It is evident in these passages that the female ministers are constructed as being inherently oriented towards family, children, and other purported ‘care issues’ and by inference, that men, or at least the white men who have dominated Canadian politics to date, are not.

Another concern of media highlighting the ‘care issues’ argument for including more women in government is that it could be playing a role in what Towns (2003) describes as a socialization that occurs after women are elected and shapes their concerns and the issues they focus on to fit culturally endorsed expectations. As well, this approach contributes to the process Grossman (2012) raises of ‘women’s concerns’ being relegated to a marginalized category, while ‘men’s concerns’ continue to be seen as ‘human concerns.’ It is evident that this type of essentialist analysis is occurring in the passages selected above, as the issues that are identified as being of probable concern for female ministers are constructed as being issues that only affect women, such as violence against women and childcare. This assumption is patently untrue, as we know that issues constructed as ‘gendered’ most often affect everyone in some capacity, including childcare, violence against women, or poverty. Constructing these issues as ‘women’s issues’ further solidifies the perception that these important policy concerns must be relegated to a secondary position because they affect minoritized positions more. This kind of circular logic serves hegemonic, colonialist, hierarchical approaches to democratic politics and undermines political claims to legitimacy related to the concerns of all citizens.

Another reason that was focused on by journalists in the first timeframe was the idea that women could catalyze better governance:

Nancy Peckford of Equal Voice, which advocates for more women in elected office, says research shows that when you have more female cabinet ministers, there is more consensus building... She notes, too, that the research has shown that the more women around the table, the more accountability and transparency. (*Globe and Mail*, Jane Taber)

Indeed, there is some evidence that suggests gender balance is associated with better performance of decision-making groups. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Kate Heartfield)

We should also expect them to come up with new solutions to old problems, since women leaders typically consult broadly and listen well, says Equal Voice spokesperson Nancy Peckford. (*The Star*, Catherine Porter)

Similar to the ‘care issues’ argument, certain aspects of governance, such as decision-making, have been shown to improve with gender-balanced participants. Again, this type of logic works to essentialize the category of women, even though it is affirmed in the literature. This discussion also puts the responsibility of ‘fixing’ or improving prevailing government structures onto women. It takes the responsibility off of male political leaders to clean up their own mistakes of perception and behaviour by constructing the situation to look as though men are just inherently less transparent and cooperative than women; therefore, the electorate cannot blame them for lacking those values and skills.

Further, the type of individuals consulted as “experts” show a pattern of mutually reaffirming hegemonic power structures. Here is a summary of the experts included by journalists in the articles analyzed:

Table 4.2 Mentions of “Experts” by Demographic and Category of Knowledge

	NGO's*	Politics**	University***	Indigenous Organizations	Total
White Men	2	5	9		16
White Women	10	3	8		21
Racialized Men		1	1		2
Racialized Women			1		1
Indigenous Men				4	4
Indigenous Women			3	1	4
Total	12	9	22	5	48

* Non-governmental organizations

** Current or previous politicians and/or policy analysts

*** University professors or associated with a Canadian university

Journalists in the articles analyzed often framed ideas about women in politics in terms of mainstream research. Many of the selected articles quote individuals cited as knowledgeable on

the topic, such as Nancy Peckford, the Executive Director of Equal Voice, a non-profit aimed at increasing women's representation in Canada, or university professors from political science and gender studies. Those consulted as "experts" by journalists are still part of institutional structures with substantive investments in the status quo, such as universities, which like newspapers are increasingly operating according to the doctrines of hegemonic neoliberal power relations. As well, the expertise consulted falls into groupings related to the imagined "merit" of political knowledge, once again focused on extremely narrow categories of knowledge. The experts from organizations related to advancing women in politics or other institutions are from organizations that are operating on concepts arising from liberal feminism, such as Equal Voice, the 30% Club, or Catalyst Canada. These types of organizations are often emphasized within dominant structures because they pose less of a threat to the status quo than more "radical" activists and organizations.

Increasing legitimacy was another explanation of the importance of women's increased political representation touched on by journalists in the first timeframe. Discussing the importance and potential benefits of having gender parity in government institutions in and of itself provides a mechanism for journalists to help increase the legitimacy of the gender-balanced cabinet by attempting to increase the level of public support for the cabinet selection within the newspaper's audience. This could be a way for journalists to express their support for the principles informing Trudeau's cabinet and grounding that support in democratic norms. Different journalists focused on various aspects of legitimacy:

Four years ago, in his paper, Siemiatycki laid out clearly what is at stake in this under-representation: "Elected officials are our lawmakers and policy-makers. They also symbolically represent who can be the 'face and voice' of our country, province and city. "Government," he wrote, "is our shared, public arena and its leadership profile can reflect how power, influence and status are distributed in society." (*Montreal Gazette*, Janet Bagnall)

As is evident, this passage focuses on symbolism, an important aspect of sociological legitimacy because it impacts the perceptions of citizens. The relationship between symbolic representation and power was a common idea expressed in relation to the shared political party goal of encouraging more women to go into politics:

The real argument for women participating equally in political life is twofold: because we make up half the population, and because gender parity in one cabinet today will make future generations of men and women see equality as normal: If you can't see it, you can't want to be it. (*The Star*, Judith Timson)

This passage, in particular, touches on the aspect of legitimacy that is grounded in equitable representation. The inclusion of men in *The Star* passage: "because gender parity in one cabinet today will make future generations of men and women see equality as normal," is also quite significant. Often, as seen in both this and the previous passage, the symbolic power of equitable representation tends to be constructed as impactful only for women. The argument here is that if women and girls can see other females in positions of power, they will be more likely to pursue those positions themselves: "If you can't see it, you can't want to be it." However, the added statement that it is also important for men to see equality as the norm implies that the onus for creating equitable representation is not solely on women. This is important because simply adding women and stirring cannot change the patriarchal structures of Canada's status-quo governments. Although it takes a less essentialist approach to gender and politics, this particular passage continues to reinforce the gender binary, similarly to this passage from the *Globe and Mail*:

Some journalists sought to challenge the patriarchal model of Canadian governance: Even now, Parliament is designed for men. All the imagery is masculine, from the portraits of stern-looking male former prime ministers hanging in the corridors to the fact that the distance between the government and the opposition in the House of Commons is two sword-lengths. Advocates for more elected women in political chambers across the country believe a critical mass of females changes the conversation. (*Globe and Mail*, Jane Taber)

This passage recognizes the patriarchal structures and tendencies of current status-quo government and points to the inherent illegitimacy that results. However, the selected article remains uncritical of the idea that simply putting more women and minorities into government will somehow 'change the conversation.' Adding more women into leadership positions in

government leaves the unanswered question: Will this shift lead to actual changes in government structures and policies?

These discussions of the importance and potential benefits of equitable representation for women also leave the question of where the gender non-conforming individuals who do not fit neatly into the binary categories of ‘men’ and ‘women’ are represented in Canadian parliamentary politics and decision-making unanswered. As previously discussed, when binary categories are constructed as the only gender options available in governance, this continues to reproduce gendered hierarchies that actively erase gender diversity in all its forms. This is an easy trap to fall into, as it is the current status quo and is reproduced in research on political representation and media coverage of it. However, just because the gender binary is found within the literature does not mean that journalists get a pass on being uncritical towards it. As one student newspaper shows, it is possible to be both supportive of a more demographically progressive cabinet, while also critiquing the gender binary and persistent status quo:

As a woman, and as a feminist, I was happy, but I wasn’t celebrating. First, a 50-50 cabinet implies there are only two genders. It ignores gender fluidity, and symbolically enforces the mainstream binary feminist discourse at the federal level. Because gender is not binary, the cabinet is not actually gender diverse. (*The Charlatan*, Student Journalist)

This passage also signals a theme that became very important in the second timeframe, whereby, as soon as Wilson-Raybould and Philpott were kicked out of the Liberal caucus, the discussion surrounding women’s equal representation in politics changed to focus almost exclusively on feminism. Many journalists within mainstream newspapers condemned Trudeau for acting against his feminist values, or seemed to question the sincerity of his ‘feminism.’

“If you just look at the facts, it would appear there is a disconnect between the aspiration of having a feminist government and then the fact that three years later, two high-profile, prominent women are removed from caucus,” Collette said. (*National Post*, Bianca Bharti)

What happened to our ‘feminist’ Prime Minister? (*Globe and Mail*, Elizabeth Renzetti)

It’s ironic that this self-declared feminist prime minister who vowed to “do politics differently” was being shunned by young feminists for doing politics in the same old way. (*Calgary Herald*, Licia Corbella)

On the other side, some journalists chose to defend Trudeau’s feminist actions:

The prime minister is arguably not just Canada’s most feminist leader, but also one of the world’s most public proponents of gender equality. (*The New York Times*, Catherine Porter)

Try as I might to discern Trudeau’s dark misogynous side — I say this as a lifelong self-declared feminist — what I see is a leader who is probably about as feminist as he’s ever been, despite all the nasty chaos of the Jody Wilson-Raybould/Jane Philpott affair... It also means treating women and men equally. No “fairer sex” nonsense. No special kid gloves. In the current Canadian political context, that means treating Wilson-Raybould and Philpott as players who have opted out of the team. (*Ottawa Citizen*, Janice Kennedy)

Thus, in the second timeframe, there seems to be a shift from a more nuanced discussion of the various reasons and motivations Trudeau may have had for forming a gender-balanced cabinet to framing his cabinet choices as solely being motivated by his “feminist” values. There are two main consequences of this. First, within this discussion, journalists are constructing feminism without consulting feminist theories, literatures, or histories. This limited construction of ‘feminism’ does not include the depth and variation that comprise feminist activisms and instead frames feminism as singular and narrow. Second, it obscures the many motivations Trudeau could have had and potential benefits that might come from having more women in political leadership positions, as occurred in the first timeframe. Instead, this narrow discussion works to increase polarization by framing a gender-balanced cabinet as something that only ‘feminists’ would create or desire.

This last passage also points to one result of defending Trudeau's 'feminist' credentials, which is placing the blame for political conflict onto Wilson-Raybould and Philpott. The SNC-Lavalin scandal was often framed as simply what happens when politicians emphasize diversity and symbolism over experience or 'merit.' Chaos ensues because Wilson-Raybould did not know what she was doing, as suggested by this passage:

There have been many feuds, but this one takes the cake for the sheer stupidity and self interest of everyone involved. Trudeau called the situation last Thursday an "erosion of trust". Trust is a by-product of loyalty, which he chose to ignore in selecting his cabinet. There is no trust because there is no loyalty. This problem is compounded by the lack of experience. Political experience teaches you the art of compromise and consensus. Jody Wilson-Raybould did not want to grant the Deferred Prosecution Agreement and felt pressured. The Prime Minister's Office wanted to protect the 9,000 jobs and the economy. Why wasn't a consensus reached on what to do? Perhaps because Trudeau set out to run a government in a new way with new people but expected the newcomers to play by the old rules. Wilson-Raybould and Jane Philpott are as much to blame as Team Trudeau. (*Edmonton Sun*, Jim Warren)

The idea that Wilson-Raybould and Philpott were expelled from the Liberal caucus due to broken trust was heavily pushed:

He [Trudeau] said their criticism of his role in the SNC-Lavalin affair had broken bonds of trust and helped the government's political opponents. (*Globe and Mail*, Ian Bailey)

"The trust that had previously existed between these two individuals and our team has been broken," Mr. Trudeau told his caucus. (*Globe and Mail*, Robert Fife, Steven Chase, and Janice Dickson)

Trudeau Says 'Erosion of Trust,' Poor Communication Led to SNC-Lavalin Controversy (*The Epoch Times*, Margaret Wollensak)

Trudeau has denied any wrongdoing but has publicly acknowledged there was a breakdown of trust between Wilson-Raybould and his office. (*The Winnipeg Free Press*, Kristy Kirkup)

From these passages, it is evident that blame was placed onto Wilson-Raybould and Philpott both for not doing exactly what Trudeau wanted them to do and for their lack of ‘experience.’ In these passages, ‘trust’ is a rhetorical device, which enables a judgement call to be made behind a façade of neutrality (Fleras 2011). The judgement call here is that Wilson-Raybould did not become sufficiently complicit with the received patriarchal structures of government, in this particular context, the extremely hierarchical leadership protocol that all Liberal caucus members expected to follow the Prime Minister’s orders.

However, Indigenous leaders and journalists pushed back against sexist and racist ideas. In this passage the *Globe and Mail*, a group of Indigenous lawyers challenge the sexist and racist construction of Wilson-Raybould as difficult:

Then, of course, there is the reality. We have worked with Ms. Wilson-Raybould for years when she was an Indigenous leader in British Columbia. She is, and has always been, determined, collaborative and hard-working. She was never hard to work with... So the cabinet shuffle doesn’t say much about Ms. Wilson-Raybould – it speaks to the state of the government, its priorities, and how it functions. (*Globe and Mail*, Merle Alexander, Leah George-Wilson, Mary Ellen Turpel Lafond, Val Napoleon, Doug White, and Naiomi Metallic)

Not only were the authors of this article able to defend Wilson-Raybould, but they were also able to critique the prevailing government structures and link them to the way she was treated.

As well, in this passage from *Windspeaker*, Wilson-Raybould’s apparent lack of ‘trust’ as justification for her expulsion from the Liberal caucus was rigorously interrogated:

“If trust is broken as they say, trust can always be rebuilt. “First Nations have always said that trust with Canada is non-existent but we are willing to work with the federal government to try and repair the relationship. If First Nations, who have had trust broken time and again and yet are still willing to work with the federal government,

why is he not willing to work with two valuable individuals in his caucus?” questioned Kekinusuqs, Judith Sayers, President of the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council.”
(*Windspeaker*, Staff)

This passage points out the hypocrisy of the federal government for punishing an Indigenous woman for breaking their ‘trust’ when they have broken the trust of Indigenous peoples across Canada time after time after time after time. It also reveals that the argument for expelling Wilson-Raybould and Philpott from the Liberal caucus is weak and clearly not the full story.

4.6 How Journalists Talk About Scandal

When I was developing the plan for this research, the SNC-Lavalin scandal had not yet emerged in the media discourse and has, therefore, been under-discussed in the thesis so far. The second timeframe was not meant to focus on a single issue; however, the SNC-Lavalin scandal became a focal point for news media attention during this time. Although the conflict itself is not the main focus of my analysis, the extent to which gender, ethnicity, and legitimacy were emphasized in media coverage of this scandal offers important insights into how hegemonic structures work together to reinforce status-quo power relations.

First, I will outline the events of the SNC-Lavalin scandal. The scandal began in 2015 when the RCMP laid fraud and corruption charges against the Montreal-based construction/engineering company SNC-Lavalin, which is the largest construction company in Canada, employing almost 9000 Canadians and over 50,000 people around the world (Devlin and Frame 2019). SNC-Lavalin has operated in many countries, mainly in the areas of infrastructure building and mining. The company was accused of bribing officials in Libya in exchange for contracts. If convicted, the company would not be allowed to bid on any federal contracts in Canada for a decade. Then, in March 2018, a provision, the Deferred Prosecution Agreement (DPA), was added to an omnibus bill that provided the possibility of remediation agreements for corporations permitting companies to pay a fine instead of undergoing criminal measures, a provision that was lobbied for by SNC-Lavalin. Although this bill was passed, on October 9, 2018 the Public Prosecution Service stated that it had no intention of negotiating a remediation agreement with SNC-Lavalin (95).

The scandal first showed up in the media because Jody Wilson-Raybould was shuffled from her prestigious position as Minister of Justice and Attorney General to Veterans Affairs on January 14, 2019 (Devlin and Frame 2019). This was a surprising Cabinet shuffle for many Canadians, as Wilson-Raybould appeared to be successful in her dual positions in Cabinet. The main speculation was that there had been a disagreement between Trudeau and Wilson-Raybould on how to deal with Indigenous issues (94). However, on February 7, 2019 the *Globe and Mail* reported that the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) had tried to pressure Wilson-Raybould into stopping the prosecution of SNC-Lavalin and instead use the DPA, which she had the power to do as Attorney General (95). When she refused, she was moved to Veterans Affairs.

Justin Trudeau has denied the allegations of pressuring Wilson-Raybould. In response to this scandal, Wilson-Raybould and fellow Cabinet minister Jane Philpott, as well as close Trudeau political aid Gerald Butts, all resigned from Cabinet. Resigning from Cabinet is historically a customary decision from ministers when they strongly object to the decisions of government. However, the scandal escalated further when Trudeau made the decision to expel Wilson-Raybould and Philpott from the Liberal caucus, a move that was speculated to be unprecedented and fed into the journalistic construction of the 'scandal.'

Jimenez (2004) defines political scandal as "a public opinion reaction against a political agent regarded accountable for certain behaviour that is perceived as an abuse of power or a betrayal of the social trust on which that agent's authority rests," (1100). Social trust is closely related to the concept of sociological legitimacy, or the belief in a particular institution or institutions to have the right to rule (Grossman 2012), and is therefore important to the perceived legitimacy of the state. Jimenez argues that based on this definition of political scandal, such public reactions can be seen as a form of social control, or a means by which society can regulate individuals' behaviour, specifically that of legislators. Similarly, Tumber and Wiasbord (2004) view this ability to hold legislators accountable for their political decisions as a cornerstone of democracy, for which the media play an important watchdog function. However, it is evident that this responsibility of the media to hold the powerful accountable did not function properly in the newspapers analyzed. Rather than delving into a thorough investigation that illuminated the background and political stakes and interests informing of the scandal, most newspaper articles focused on a purported 'he said/she said' dynamic that developed between Trudeau and Wilson-

Raybould, and the various other political actors involved, including Butts, as demonstrated by these passages:

Ms. Wilson-Raybould's testimony was that she was under pressure to intervene in the prosecution of SNC-Lavalin, and believed she was demoted because she didn't. Mr. Butts's said there was a "breakdown in trust" when Ms. Wilson-Raybould was demoted in January and that led her to wrongly reinterpret past events as improper pressure over the case. (*Globe and Mail*, Campbell Clark)

So to spend time in Ottawa last week, as Ms. Wilson-Raybould was expressing her wish to speak "my truth" before the committee, was to encounter eyebrow-raising about what she is up to... there is an undercurrent of speculation: Is she making some kind of play for Mr. Trudeau's job? Why else would anyone be so willing, while still a Liberal MP, to jeopardize her party's re-election chances with the next campaign months away? (*Globe and Mail*, Adam Ranwonski)

They picked new people who played by their own rules. This brings us to today, the greatest Liberal public family feud of all time. (*Edmonton Sun*, Jim Warren)

Very few newspaper articles examined the details and facts of the SNC-Lavalin scandal in their reporting. And if the article did discuss some details, they focused on the Trudeau and Wilson-Raybould dynamic, rather than the crimes of SNC-Lavalin or the implications for similar companies. According to Allen and Savigny (2012), interests of businesses remain mostly uncontested in mainstream news media. They argue that although news outlets and individual journalists have some agency in how and what they report on, there are also structural features of the media and the political landscape that influence how they function. The main structural feature Allen and Savigny focus on is the corporatization of news media under neoliberalism.

Within neoliberalism, markets are deregulated and liberalized, and politicians surrender to business demands in order to prevent the 'flight of capital' (Allen and Savigny 2012, 279), or in the case of the SNC-Lavalin scandal, to protect jobs, and therefore the economy. When media are also rooted in corporations, as seen in the privatization of mainstream newspapers in Canada, their business desires begin to clash with the ideals of democracy, which would normally place

them in the important position of holding politicians and corporations accountable. Allen and Savigny argue that because the media exist within their own competitive marketplace, they benefit from the continuation of the status quo, which advances a neoliberal political agenda at the expense of investigative journalism.

A theme within the data that supports this theory is reflected in the fact that student newspapers were overall more critical compared with mainstream newspapers in their analysis of federal politics. This level of critique was consistent for many issues, including but not limited to the SNC-Lavalin scandal. A student newspaper provided one of the only articles examined here that framed the scandal in terms of SNC-Lavalin's business crimes and the government's attempt at covering them up, rather than focusing on a purported personal or even political dispute between Trudeau and Wilson-Raybould:

Based in Montreal, SNC-Lavalin is a large construction and engineering firm which operates in many regions of the world. Within Canada, SNC-Lavalin employs roughly 9 000 people, globally that figure is closer to 50 000. The company has been and continues to be involved in major infrastructure projects in Canada. Despite this, SNC-Lavalin's reputation is not untarnished. Both within and outside of Canada, the company has been linked with many allegations of corruption in the past... On Friday, the Federal Court rejected a bid by SNC-Lavalin that challenged prosecutors who insisted the company face trial over corruption charges, which accuse the company of bribing Libyan officials between 2001 and 2011 in order to get contracts. The only hope for SNC-Lavalin to avoid trial now is to get the deferred prosecution agreement granted by the new Attorney General, David Lametti, who replaced Wilson-Raybould following her demotion by Trudeau in January. (*Xaverian Weekly*, Student Journalist)

The higher levels of critical investigative journalism carried out by the student newspapers could be explained by their relative positioning further outside of the prevailing neoliberal market structure, which means they may not have the same stake in upholding the status quo as the corporatized newspapers analyzed. As all public institutions, including post-secondary educational ones, are pressured to adopt neoliberal frames, the capacity for investigative journalism and critical research may be further eroded among student newspapers, and the institutions that nurture them, as well.

The only other article that delved into the true details of the SNC-Lavalin scandal was by an Indigenous journalist from the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*:

The RCMP allege that between 2001 and 2011, the company paid out \$47.7 million in bribes and commissions to government officials in the Gadhafi regime. In addition, it has also been alleged that the company defrauded the Libyan government and other entities of “property, money or valuable security or service” worth approximately \$129.8 million. Officials from SNC-Lavalin were trying to get the government to drop the charges or negotiate a remediation agreement in which they would admit wrongdoing and pay a hefty fine. The prosecution has since argued that the offer should be struck down and SNC-Lavalin should face criminal charges. (*Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, Doug Cuthand)

This represents an emergent pattern throughout this analysis of marginalized voices, when amplified within mainstream news media, being able to bring a more critical perspective to prominent media platforms.

Allen and Savigny argue that business crimes are often constructed within news media reports in ways that affirm the interests of business rather than the public interest. This is accomplished by justifying business crimes and government leniency towards them as good for the economy. All of this works towards obscuring and distracting from the realities informing journalistic misinterpretations of political scandals.

Johnson (2017) considers how scandals function “to enable, excuse, and obscure the complex landscapes of violence” (705) by looking at scandals surrounding war. He argues that while scandals are often understood as the basis for popular critique and holding legislators accountable, they also often work to secure the legitimacy of hierarchies rather than contest them, thereby upholding the status quo (704). Johnson does not view scandals as neutral events that expose the truth of wrong doings: “Scandals are not detached and dispassionate arbiters of ethical conduct” (708), but rather can be viewed as holding individuals accountable “for not following the rules of the game” (710). Johnson’s examples are of holding countries and leaders accountable for breaking the rules of war. He argues that what this does is, “implies *if transgression were eliminated, war would be a wholly moral exercise*,” (711, emphasis in original).

The same logic structure informs media reporting on the SNC-Lavalin scandal. In the media, the scandal was framed as the mistreatment of Wilson-Raybould by Trudeau and other government officials. By focusing on this limited scope of inquiry, rather than the criminality of SNC-Lavalin, the implication appeared to be that if Wilson-Raybould had not been bullied, then the use of the DPA would have been moral. Therefore, the media reporting on the SNC-Lavalin scandal not only obscures and distracts from the actual abuses of the law informing the scandal, but also reinforces the ideologies of neoliberalism and reinscribes hierarchies that place the economy above people. This journalistic mechanism for supporting the status quo does not apply to Canadians only, but to all of the people around the world who have been negatively impacted by the immoral actions of SNC-Lavalin.

There is also an irony in the scandal reports focusing on the treatment of an Indigenous woman in Canadian politics, when Indigenous peoples around the world bear the brunt of abuses by companies like SNC-Lavalin and settler-colonial states like Canada. Trudeau, by aligning with the “business as politics” argument of protecting jobs, undermined his own commitments to create meaningful change in the politics of business as usual, while journalists permitted themselves to provide a superficial analysis of the stakes for all parties and hegemonic structures involved, their own included.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

Overall, hegemonic power structures were reinforced by news media in terms of how journalists constructed political appointments, ethnic minorities, women in politics, Indigenous representation, and scandal. As well, journalists from mainstream newspapers were less able to critically discuss the politics around Trudeau's diverse cabinet compared with journalists from alternative newspapers. This pattern was reflected in how journalists talked about Trudeau's shift in appointment politics, discussions of gender and ethnicity and the SNC-Lavalin scandal. As well, when mainstream newspapers amplified marginalized voices, more critical perspectives were able to influence the discussion, such as when Indigenous journalists and perspectives were included in city newspapers and the *Globe and Mail*.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The Discursive Power of News Media and an ‘Oppositional Gaze’

5.1 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

In this study, I have aimed to analyze representations of Trudeau’s gender-balanced cabinet, one that ‘looks like Canada,’ in news media at the onset of the shift and in the run-up to the next election. How journalists talk about diverse representation has implications for the symbolic representation of the demographics discussed. The various perspectives amplified by news media also impact Canadians support for or resistance to progressive actions taken to increase diverse representation. By employing FCDA, I was able to examine key themes and deconstruct some of the prevailing assumptions shaping how journalists discursively constructed Trudeau’s gender-balanced cabinet.

The questions guiding this study have been: How have journalists responded to the shift in focus toward representation of a wider range of demographic identities in Trudeau’s gender-balanced cabinet? How have journalists used democratic norms to justify their support for or critiques of Trudeau’s cabinet? How do these journalistic representations of Trudeau’s ‘cabinet that looks like Canada’ challenge or uphold the status quo?

There are multiple key findings from this research. First, I found that although geographical representation continues to be an important factor for many journalists across Canada, there was also journalistic recognition of a shift in appointment politics away from traditional factors towards more demographics-based factors, which resulted in a more diverse gender-balanced cabinet than might otherwise have been appointed.

A second significant finding involves current journalistic reinforcement of the misleading notion of meritocracy. The narrow conception of ‘merit’ presented by journalists in the articles analyzed closely mirror the literature on ‘political knowledge.’ They both use androcentric and elitist conceptions of which knowledges and experiences are important for politics, which, in

turn, excludes women and minorities and make invisible their unique knowledges and experiences, which may be beneficial in improving government structures and decisions.

Third, I found that, in many instances, the discussions on gender, ethnicity, and Indigenous peoples reinforced hierarchies of difference, through ‘othering,’ in ways that supported the status quo rather than challenging hegemonic power relations. Some problematic patterns included a discursive silence around white MPs, a construction of racialized MPs as foreign, and the use of ‘moves to innocence’ around discussions of Indigenous and other racialized ministers, in the same breath.

Fourth, my analysis found that journalists continue to lean on stereotypes when talking about women in politics. As well, the “experts” consulted by journalists reflect the same structural power dynamics and investments in the status quo that characterize governance as usual, resulting in assessments that were unlikely to offer innovative possibilities to challenge hegemonic notions of diverse descriptive representation in political appointments. Further, journalists continue to reinforce hegemonic assumptions based on a normative gender binary, which make gender non-conforming people invisible.

Lastly, I also found a lack of critical investigative journalism regarding the SNC-Lavalin Scandal which can, in part, be attributed to the effects of neoliberalism on mainstream newspaper companies. This insight is corroborated, in part, by evidence of alternative newspapers offering deeper analyses and critiques of the federal cabinet, including its approach to the scandal. As well, there was evidence that when marginalized voices are amplified within mainstream newspapers, they are able to offer more critical perspectives at a higher circulation rate.

Journalists used democratic norms in various ways to express support for or critiques of Trudeau’s diverse, gender-balanced cabinet. Status quo perspectives on fairness and equality were used to justify support for dated ideas about meritocracy. Moreover, various perspectives on these norms and approaches to greater investments in descriptive representation were used by journalists in their discussion of gender equity in cabinet.

There are multiple limitations of this study. First, as previously discussed, language was a major limitation. I was only able to analyze newspaper articles published in English. An analysis of newspapers published in other languages could offer a better representation of news media responses to Trudeau’s cabinet and its evolution from inception to the run-up to the next election, particularly in Quebec and from international perspectives.

Second, in this study, I analyzed newspapers, exclusively, which are only one platform within the news media landscape. Future research could analyze other forms of news media, both from mainstream and alternative sources in order to obtain a more complete representation of news coverage in Canada. These could include broadcast news, magazines, and/or blogs, among others.

Throughout this study, I have pointed to the potentials of alternative news media such as ethnic, community, Indigenous, and student newspapers for critiquing hegemonic neoliberal structures and hierarchies more thoroughly and accurately, despite limited resources. Another future area of research could involve what Fleras (2011) deems an ‘oppositional gaze,’ which he argues can arise through social media. According to Fleras, oppositional gazes subvert status quo versions of reality, unlike mainstream media. Analyzing social media discourses could produce a fuller picture of the symbolic representation of diverse political representation. Further, an in-depth comparative analysis of private (commercial), public (public service – CBC in Canada), participatory (alternative), and participatory (social) media (Fleras 2011, 6-11) discourses on diversity in political representation could illuminate the ways hegemonic structures influence all sectors of news media in Canada; it could simultaneously produce practical knowledge on how to subvert the status quo through collective social action. A study of the media strategies deployed by specific movements such as Idle No More and Black Lives Matter might also illuminate the role of collective social action in shaping media discourses.

As well, in this study, I have focused on the relationship between hegemonic structures and representations of diversity in the federal cabinet by news media. Media skepticism as to whether any type of affirmative action might actually create substantive change within the government structures that influence the inner-workings of the federal cabinet has an impact. Despite my critiques, Trudeau’s decision to have a gender-balanced cabinet was not nothing. Trudeau himself represents a slight shift in typical political representation demographics. With his background as a teacher, as well as his relative age, serving as the second youngest of Canadian Prime Ministers at the time of his election, Trudeau does not fall into the hegemonic ideals of the seasoned ‘experience’ often deemed necessary for political leadership. Furthermore, the concept of a ‘cabinet that looks like Canada’ represents a shift in representational politics and creates the possibility of a substantial shift in governmental structures and norms. Future research could involve an institutional analysis of Trudeau’s gender-balanced cabinet that

investigates whether these demographic shifts in political representation have created any substantive changes in the kinds of legislation produced or the practices of political decision-making.

Lastly, there is also potential in adopting gender-balanced and diverse representational and appointment protocols beyond the federal cabinet. The recent Black Lives Matters protests in response to the police murder of George Floyd in the United States have caused many institutions, organizations, and businesses around the world to reconsider their roles in reproducing structural racism. This includes news media in Canada, as demonstrated by this passage from a recent CBC article:

On the inside of CBC News, many of our staff were reeling. People of colour told us the Floyd story is personal and deeply felt. The pain is real. Our mistakes laid bare their long-held complaint that we aren't moving fast enough to ensure our workforce – from the entry level to leadership – looks like the country we serve. How can we ever deepen our awareness and understanding of race if more people of colour, more Indigenous people, more women, more people with disabilities, aren't in positions of power and influence throughout our newsrooms? (*CBC*, Brodie Fenlon, June 2020)

This passage reflects the call to action felt by our national broadcaster from a more diverse Canadian public demanding that the CBC diversify their staffing at all levels. Within this call to action is the recognition that descriptive representation matters, because it helps determine who is influencing and shaping the news stories Canadians consume and affirms the diverse political perspectives that prominent commentators from many walks of life could bring to the table. It also shows the tremendous political knowledge gaps that have characterized mainstream politics and news coverage, as a legacy of Canada's evolution as patriarchal, settler-colonialist nation state.

Moreover, the recent global pandemic has illuminated how 'care-issues' and related legislation affect everyone. There are many governmental, legislative, and societal issues that have been exposed by the current crisis. These include, but are not limited to increasing awareness of: the vulnerabilities of both public and private healthcare systems; unsustainable neoliberal dismantling of social safety nets resulting in governments being forced to generate short-term guaranteed incomes, while still reinforcing existing marginalizations through access,

or lack thereof, to available benefits and services; and potentials for more meaningful responses to climate change, itself a factor in the emergence of COVID-19.

Working toward gender-balanced, inclusive descriptive representation at all levels of government could help change prevailing assumptions that condition the gendering and minoritization of issues, repeatedly proven to be of much broader public interest than can be well understood through the operations of a patriarchal, settler-colonial state. Refocusing public attention toward such vital concerns, presented not as “special interests” – but as critical to the best interests of good governance – could become instrumental in precipitating meaningful structural change.

References

- Abrajano, Marisa. "Reexamining the "Racial Gap" in Political Knowledge." *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 1 (2015): 44-54
- Allen, Henry and Heather Savigny. "Selling scandal or ideology? The politics of business crime and coverage." *European Journal of Communication* 27, no. 3 (2012): 278-290.
- Allen, Peter and David Cutts. "How do Gender Quotas Affect Public Support for Women as Political Leaders?" *West European Politics* 41, no. 1 (2018): 147-168.
- Arvin, Maile, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill. "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy." *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1 (2013): 8-34.
- Ashe, Jeanette. "Women's Legislative Underrepresentation: Enough Come Forward, (Still) Too Few Chosen." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 2 (2017): 597-613.
- Bacchi, Carol. 2006. "Arguing for and Against Quotas." In *Women, Quotas and Politics*, edited by Drude Dahlerup, 73-105. New York: Routledge.
- Barber, Marsha, Julia A. Levitan, and Marja Kappler. "Gender Representation on Canadian Television News during Provincial Elections: A Longitudinal Study." *The International Journal of Diverse Identities* 17, no. 4 (2018): 2327-8560.
- Barnes, Tiffany D., and Stephanie M. Buchard. "'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 7 (2012): 767-790.
- Bhaskar, Rankit. "A Cabinet that Looks Like Canada." *New Canadian Media*, November 5, 2015.
- Bleck, Jaimie and Kristin Michelitch. "Is women's empowerment associated with political knowledge and opinions? Evidence from rural Mali." *Work Development* 106 (2018):299-323.

- Buckley, Fiona, Mack Mariani, and Timothy J. White. "Will Legislative Gender Quotas Increase Female Representation in Ireland? A Feminist Institutionalism Analysis." *Representation* 50, no. 4 (2014): 471-484.
- Burnet, Jennie E. "Women Have Found Respect: Gender Quotas, Symbolic Representation, and Female Empowerment in Rwanda." *Politics and Gender* 7 (2011): 303-334.
- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. *The Private Roots of Public Actions: Gender Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald Miller. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960.
- Celis, Karen. "Representativity in times of diversity: The political representation of women." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41 (2013): 179-186.
- Childs, Sarah, and Mona Lena Krook. "Should Feminists Give Up on Critical Mass? A Contingent Yes." *Politics and Gender* 2, no. 4 (2006) 522-530.
- Cooper, Brittney. "Intersectionality." In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, edited by Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth, 385-406. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2016.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1, no. 8 (1989): <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>
- Dahlerup, Drude, ed. 2006. *Women, Quotas and Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Dahlerup, Drude and Lenita Freidenvall. "Quotas as a 'Fast Track' to Equal Representation for Women." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7, no. 1 (2005): 26-48.

- Dahlerup, Drude and Lenita Freidenvall. "Judging Gender Quotas: Predictions and Results." *Policy and Politics* 38, no. 3 (2010): 407-25.
- Darhour, Hanane and Drude Dahlerup. "Sustainable Representation of Women through Gender Quotas: A Decade's Experience in Morocco." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41 (2013): 132-142.
- Darhour, Hanane and Drude Dahlerup. "Sustainable Representation of Women through Gender Quotas: A Decade's Experience in Morocco." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41 (2013): 132-142.
- Delli Carpini, Micheal X. and Scott Keeter. *What Americans Know about Politics and why it Matters*. New Haven: Yale University, 1996.
- Delvin, Richard and Sarah Frame. "Economic corruption, political mechinations and legal ethics: correspondents' report from Canada." *Legal Ethics* 22, no. 1-2 (2019): 94-102.
- Dey, Ian. *Qualitative data analysis: A user friendly guide for social scientists*. London: Routledge, 1993
- Djerf-Pierre, Monika, Mats Eström, and Bengt Johansson. "Policy failure or moral scandal? Political accountability, journalism and new public management." *Media, Culture & Society* 35, no. 8 (2013): 960-976.
- Dolan, Kathleen. "Do Women and Men Know Different Things? Measuring Gender Differences in Political Knowledge." *The Journal of Politics* 73, no. 1 (2011): 97-107.
- Dow, Jay K. "Gender Differences in Political Knowledge: Distinguishing Characteristics-Based and Returns-Based Differences." *Political Behaviour* 31, no. 1 (2009): 117-136.
- Equal Voice. "Encouraging Data." Published October 3, 2019.
https://www.equalvoice.ca/portal_encouraging_data_number_of_federal_women_candidates_increased_on_average_9_across_party_lines_since_2015

- Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language, Second Edition*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Fleras, Augie. *The Media Gaze: Representations of Diversities in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Fraille, Marta. "Do Women Know Less About Politics Than Men? The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge in Europe." *Social Politics* 21, no. 2 (2014): 261-289.
- Fraille, Marta and Raul Gomez. "Why Does Alejandro Know More about Politics than Catalina? Explaining the Latin American Gender Gap in Political Knowledge." *British Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 1 (2017): 91-112.
- Fraser, Nancy. "Recognition or Redistribution? Dilemmas of Justice in a "Post-Socialist" Age" *New Left Review* 212 (1995): 68-94.
- Frisk, Adam. "Trudeau says men, women shouldn't be 'afraid' to be feminists." *Global News*, January 22, 2016.
- Garza, Frida. 2015. "Canada's new prime minister says he is "proud to be a feminist."" *Quartz*, October 21, 2015. <https://qz.com/529980/canadas-new-prime-minister-says-he-is-proud-to-be-a-feminist/>.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth and Joanna Everitt. "Metaphors and Misrepresentation: Gendered Mediation in News Coverage of the 1993 Canadian Leaders' Debates." *Press/Politics* 4, no. 1 (1999): 48-65.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth and Joanna Everitt. "Filtering the Female: Television News Coverage of the 1993 Canadian Leaders Debates." *Women and Politics* 21, no. 4 (2000): 105-131.
- Godwin, Matthew K. "Awaiting the Watershed: Women in Canada's Parliament." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 33, no. 2 (2010): 32-37.

- Goldstein, Amir. "Haaretz newspaper, the capitalist agenda and Menachem Begin's political legitimacy." *Israel Affairs* 24, no. 2 (2018): 240-253.
- Grossman, Nienke. "Sex on the Bench: Do Women Judges Matter to the Legitimacy of International Courts?" *Chicago Journal of International Law* 12, no. 2 (2012): 647-684.
- Hänggli, Regula. "Key Factors in Frame Building: How Strategic Political Actors Shape News Media Coverage." *American Behavioral Scientist* 56, no. 3 (2012): 300-317.
- Hall, Stuart. "Encoding/Decoding." In *Culture, Media, Language*, edited by Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe, and Paul Willis, 128-138. London: Hutchinson, 1980.
- Harvey, Alison. *Feminist Media Studies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2020
- Herman S. Edward and Noam Chomsky. *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1998.
- House of Commons of Canada. 2019. "Members of Parliament." Accessed March 22, 2019. <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members?currentOnly=true&caucusId=4>.
- Hutchings, Vincent L., Nicholas A. Valentino, Tasha S. Philpot, and Ismail K. White. "The Compassion Strategy: Race and the Gender Gap in Campaign 2000." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 68, no. 4 (2004): 512-541.
- Isoke, Zenzele. "Race and Racialization." In *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, edited by Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth, 741-760. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2016.
- Jabeen, Mussarat and Sajid Mahmood Awan. "Gender Quotas as an Instrument for Women's Empowerment in Legislatures." *FWU Journal of Social Sciences* 11, no. 1 (2017): 132-142.

James, Micheal and Adam Burgos. "Race." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Last modified May 25, 2020. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/race/#RacVerEth>

Jerit, Jennifer and Jason Barabas. "Revisiting the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge." *Political Behaviour* 39, no. 8 (2017): 817-838.

Jimenez, Fernando. "The Politics of Scandal in Spain: Morality Plays, Social Trust, and the Battle for Public Opinion." *American Behavioral Scientist* 47, no. 8 (2004): 1099-1121.

Johnson, Jamie M. "Beyond a politics of recrimination: Scandal, ethics and the rehabilitation of violence." *European Journal of International Relations* 23, no. 3 (2017): 703-726.

Kantola, Johanna. "Feminism." In *The State: Theories and Issues*, edited by Colin Hay, Michael Lister, and David Marsh, 118-134. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Kaufmann, Karen M. "The Partisan Paradox: Religious Commitment and the Gender Gap in Party Identification." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 68, no. 4 (2004): 491-511.

Kathlene, Lyn. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *The American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (1994): 560-576.

Kathlene, Lyn. "Alternative Views of Crime: Legislative Policymaking in Gendered Terms." *The Journal of Politics* 57, no. 3 (1995): 696-732.

Kerby, Matthew. "Worth the Wait: Determinants of Ministerial Appointments in Canada, 1935-2008." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42, no. 3 (2009): 593-611.

Krook, Mona Lena. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. *Reform*

Krook, Mona Lena, Joni Lovenduski, and Judith Squires. "Quotas and Models of Political Citizenship." *British Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 4 (2009): 781-803.

- Kunovich, Robert M. and Sheri Kunovich. "The Gender Gap in Political Knowledge in Poland." *Polish Sociological Review* 193 (2016): 33-49.
- Lazar, Michelle M. "Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis." In *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*, edited by John Flowerdew and John E. Richardson, 372-387. Lond: Routledge, 2017.
- Liu, Amy. "Unraveling the myth of meritocracy within the context of US higher education." *High Educ* 62 (2011): 383-397.
- Lizotte, Mary-Kate and Andrew H. Sidman. "Explaining the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge." *Politics and Gender* 5 (2009): 127-151.
- Matland, Richard E. and Donley T. Studlar. "The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single-Member District and Proportional Representation Electoral Systems: Canada and Norway." *The Journal of Politics* 58, no. 3 (1996): 707-733.
- McGlone, Matthew, Joshua Aronson, and Diane Kobrynowicz. "Stereotype Threat and the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 30 (2006): 392-398.
- McLoughlin, Lisa. "Spotlighting: Emergent Gender Bias in Undergraduate Engineering Education." *Journal of Engineering Education*, 94(4) (2006), 373-381.
- Mendelberg, Tali, and Christopher F. Karpowitz. "Women's Authority in Political Decision-Making Groups." *Leadership Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (2016): 487-503.
- Mendelberg, Tali, Christopher F. Karpowitz, and Nicholas Goedert. "Does Descriptive Representation Facilitate Women's Distinctive Voice? How Gender Composition and Decision Rules Affect Deliberation." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 2 (2014): 291-306.
- Mendez, Jeanette Morehouse and Tracy Osborn. "Gender and the Perception of Knowledge in Political Discussion." *Political Research Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (2010): 269-279.

- Moeller, Susan D. *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Mondak, Jeffery J. and Mary R. Anderson. "The Knowledge Gap: A Reexamination of Gender-Based Differences in Political Knowledge." *The Journal of Politics* 66, no. 2 (2004): 492-512.
- Moser, Ingunn. "Sociotechnical Practices and Difference: On the Interferences between Disability, Gender, and Class." *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 31, no. 5 (2006): 537-564.
- Nash, Jillian and Lindsay H. Hoffman. "Explaining the Gap: The Interaction of Gender and News Enjoyment in Predicting Political Knowledge." *Communication Research Reports* 26, no. 2 (2009): 114-122.
- "Newspapers 24/7" *News Media Canada*, accessed May 23, 2020.
<https://nmc-mic.ca/ad-resources/newspapers-247/>
- Pitkin, Hanna. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (1967). pp. 8–10
- Prihatini, Ella S. "Indonesian young voters: Political knowledge and electing women into parliament." *Women's Studies International Forum* 70 (2018): 46-52.
- Puar, Jasbir K. *Terrorist Assemblages: homonationalism in queer times*. London: Duke University Press, 2007
- Richardson, John E. *Analyzing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Robinson, G., and A. Saint-Jean. "Women Politicians and their Media Coverage." In *Women in Canadian Politics: Toward Equity in Representation, Volume 6*, edited by Kathy Megyeri, 127-169. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991.

- Shaker, Lee. "Local Political Knowledge and Assessments of Citizen Competence." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2012): 525-537.
- Shapcott, Ricahrd. "Critical Theory." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, 327-345. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2008.
- Simon, Alice. "How Can We Explain the Gender Gap in Children?" *American Behavioural Scientist* 61, no. 2 (2017): 222-237.
- Simpson, Audra. "The State is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty." *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016) 1-30.
- Simpson, Leanne. "Idle No More: Where the Mainstream Media Went Wrong." *The Dominion*. Published February 27, 2013. <http://dominion.mediacoop.ca/story/idle-no-more-and-mainstream-media/16023>.
- Sorensen, Georg. "The Transformation of the State." In *The State: Theories and Issues*, edited by Colin Hay, Michael Lister, and David Marsh, 190-208. London: Plagrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Srivastava, Prachi and Nick Hopwood. "A Practival Iterative Framework for Qualitative Data Analysis." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, no. 1 (2009): 76-84.
- Staunæs, Dorthe. "Where have all the subjects gone? Bringing together the concepts of intersectionality and subjectification." *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 11, no. 2 (2003): 101-110.
- Stolle, Dietlind and Elisabeth Gidengil. "What Do Women Really Know? A Gendered Analysis of Political Knowledge." *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 1 (2010): 93-109.
- Sypnowich, Christine. "Law and Ideology." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Last modified April 23, 2019. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/law-ideology/#LibeConclIdeo>
- Thomas, Melanee "Barriers to Women's Political Participation in Canada." *University of New*

- Brunswick Law Journal* 64 (2013): 218-234.
- Thomas, Melanee and Marc André Bodet. "Sacrificial Lambs, Women Candidates, and District Competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32 (2013): 153-166.
- Tolley, Erin. *Framed: Media and the Coverage of Race in Canadian Politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015.
- Tong, J. "The gender gap in political culture and participation in China." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 36 (2003):131-150.
- Towns, Ann. "Understanding the Effects of Larger Ratios of Women in National Legislatures." *Women in Politics* 25 (2003): 1-29.
- Trimble, Linda, Angelia Wagner, Shannon Sampert, Daisy Rapheal, and Bailey Gerrits. "Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975-2012." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18, no. 4 (2013): 462-481.
- Trimble, Linda, Daisy Raphael, Shannon Sampert, Angelia Wagner, and Bailey Gerrits. "Politicizing Bodies: Hegemonic Masculinity, Heteronormativity, and Racism in News Representations of Canadian Political Party Leadership Candidates." *Women's Studies in Communication* 38, no. 3 (2015): 314-330.
- Tuck, Eve. "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities." *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (2009): 409-427.
- Tuck, Eve and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1-40.
- Tumber, Howard and Silvio Waisbord. "Introduction: Political Scandals and Media Across Democracies, Volume 1." *American Behavioral Scientist* 47, no. 8 (2004): 1031-1039.
- Van Dijk, Tuen. "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse & Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 249-283.

Weheliye, Alexander G. *Habeas Viscus*. United States of America: Duke University Press, 2014.

Whitworth, Sandra. "Feminism." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal, 391-407. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2008.

Zhao, Yan. "Intersectionality, the Production of Difference and Norwegian Transnational Adoptees' Identity Work." *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 21, no. 3 (2013): 201-217.

Appendix

List of Articles Selected for Analysis with Author Demographics

Newspaper	Publication Date	Title	Author	Author Demographics
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	April 4, 2015	Corbella: Young women turn their backs on Trudeau's Hypocrisy	Licia Corbella	White Female
<i>Cape Breton Post</i>	November 5, 2015	Outside looking in	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Edmonton Journal</i>	November 6, 2015	Trudeau on right track with cabinet	Editorial Board	Unknown
<i>Edmonton Sun</i>	March 9, 2019	Warren: Trudeau's error was in not picking loyalists to cabinet	Jim Warren	White Male
<i>Regina Leader Post</i>	November 6, 2015	Trudeau's cabinet captures changing Canada	Jeremy Warren	White Male
<i>Montreal Gazette</i>	October 20, 2015	Trudeau's team: Meet the top contenders for his cabinet	Unknown	Unknown
	November 5, 2015	John Charest backs Trudeau's decision to appoint 15 women to cabinet	Unknown	Unknown
	November 5, 2015	Opinion: Finally, an inclusive federal cabinet that looks like Canada	Janet Bagnall	White Female
	March 15, 2019	Jody Wilson-Raybould tells constituents she's sticking with the Liberals for 2019 vote	Unknown	Unknown
	February 28, 2019	PM Trudeau reflecting on Wilson-	Rene Bruemmer	White Male

		Raybould's presence in Liberal caucus		
	March 26, 2019	'A cavalcade of contradictions and cover-up' claim Tories as Liberal majority shuts down further SNC-Lavalin testimony	Brian Platt	White Male
<i>NNLS Media</i>	February 25, 2019	Editorial: Wilson-Raybould could regret claim to fame	Editorial Board	Unknown
	April 5, 2019	Young Inuvik woman turns back on Trudeau	Tim Edwards	White Male
<i>Nunatsiaq News</i>	November 4, 2015	Trudeau names Nunavut's Hunter Tootoo to DFO, Coast Guard Portfolio	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Ottawa Citizen</i>	November 3, 2015	Heartfield: The feminist cabinet maker	Kate Heartfield	White Female
	December 23, 2015	Despite gender-balanced cabinet, male ministers dominate question period	Glen McGregor	White Male
	October 24, 2015	Cabinet-making: Who's on Trudeau's short list	Lee Berthiaume	White Male
	November 11, 2015	Here are all 30 ministers at a glance	Staff	Unknown
	January 18, 2019	Kurl: Gender parity in cabinet still sets team Trudeau apart	Shachi Kurl	Racialized Female
	April 5, 2019	Kennedy: Trudeau's not a fake feminist, despite how his	Janice Kennedy	White Female

		foes paint him		
	April 23, 2019	Cohen: Canada's environmentalists, feminists must stop demanding political perfection	Andrew Cohen	White Male
<i>Saskatoon Star Phoenix</i>	October 21, 2015	Trudeau vows new approach	Lee Berthiaume	White Male
	November 6, 2015	Random observations of a cabinet swearing-in	John Gormly	White Male
	March 4, 2019	Blachford: Women were invited to Trudeau's cabinet table, but expected to play by old boys' rules	Christie Blachford	White Female
	February 16, 2019	Cuthand: Wilson-Raybould maintains respectable reputation	Doug Cuthand	Indigenous Male
	March 16, 2019	Cuthand: Indigenous people have different relationship with party politics	Doug Cuthand	Indigenous Male
<i>The Chronicle Herald</i>	November 18, 2015	Trudeau unveils federal cabinet	Corey Leblanc	White Male
	November 17, 2015	Trudeau cabinet provides reasons to celebrate	Jan Wong	Racialized Female
	November 5, 2015	Welcome to cabinet: 'Because it's 2015'; Half of Trudeau's cabinet filled by women but committees still top-heavy with men	Jennifer Ditchburn	Racialized Female
	November 18, 2015	Diversity of federal cabinet applauded	Corey Leblanc	White Male

	May 24, 2019	Canada's Trudeau expels two ex-ministers from ruling party in a bid to end scandal	David Ljunggren and Steve Scherer	White Males
	April 3, 2019	Former Canadian ministers who clashed with Trudeau to make political announcements	Unknown	Unknown
	March 5, 2019	Atlantic Canada cabinet ministers stand by their PM	Andrea Gunn	White Female
	January 11, 2019	Appointing a Nova Scotian to the federal cabinet is tradition although not guaranteed	Andrea Gunn	White Female
<i>The Guardian</i> (Charlottetown)	October 29, 2015	Gender parity historic decision	Dawn Wilson	White Female
<i>The Star</i>	November 4, 2015	Prime Minister Justin Trudeau unveils diverse cabinet in touching ceremony	Tonda MacCharles, Les Whittington, and Bruce Campion-Smith	Mixed
	November 1, 2015	How Justin Trudeau picked his cabinet: Hepburn	Bob Hepburn	White Male
	October 24, 2015	Women poised for historic place at cabinet table	Bruce Campion-Smith	White Male
	November 7, 2015	Appointment of four Sikh cabinet ministers shows 'we have arrived'	Allen Woods	White Male
	November 5, 2015	Women bring a lifetime of high-calibre skills to the cabinet table: Porter	Catharine Porter	White Female
	December 28, 2015	What "Because it's 2015" means	Editorial	Unknown

		for 2016: Editorial		
	November 25, 2015	Gender parity in politics bodes well for the future: Timson	Judith Timson	White Female
	October 24, 2015	Trudeau's new cabinet can send message women at last on par	Jennifer Wells	White Female
	November 4, 2015	Trudeau cabinet: showdown at gender gap	Heather Mallick	White Female
	March 4, 2019	Jody Wilson-Raybould deploys the matriarchy like a call to arms	Judith Timson	White Female
	March 5, 2019	With Philpott and Wilson-Raybould out, who can Indigenous people turn to now?	Tanya Talaga	Indigenous Female
<i>The Whitehorse Star</i>	Nov. 4, 2015	Bagnell unfazed by omission from new cabinet	Aimee O'Connor	White Female
	April 3, 2019	Caucus expulsions had to happen, Bagnell says	Palak Mangat	Racialized Female
<i>Times Colonist (Victoria)</i>	Nov. 3, 2015	Gender-balanced cabinets the future?; May hopes Trudeau's promised 50-50 batch of federal ministers will set lasting precedent	Cindy Harnet	White Female
	April 24, 2019	Wilson-Raybould: Feds want to just 'manage the problem' of Indigenous Peoples	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Vancouver Sun</i>	November 12,	B.C. without single voice for	Peter O'Neil	White Male

	2015	regional issues in federal cabinet		
	October 26, 2015	Analysis: Trudeau has deep talent pool when choosing cabinet ministers in B.C.	Mohammad Marwen Meddah	Racialized Male
	November 5, 2015	Men still dominate the 'inner cabinet'; Trudeau's team	Andrew Coyne	White Male
<i>Winnipeg Free Press</i>	November 18, 2015	Trudeau doing away with regional cabinet ministers	Mia Rabson	White Female
	November 4, 2015	Canada now has a truly representative cabinet	Editorial	Unknown
	November 7, 2015	What does Canada look like to you?	Melissa Martin	White Female
	November 10, 2015	Women at the head table	Matthew Kerby and Jennifer Curtin	White Male and White Female
	May 31, 2019	Independents could surprise us	Royce Koop	White Male
	April 13, 2019	Liberals move ahead on Indigenous agenda after SNC affair, caucus ousters	Kristy Kirkup	White Female
	March 7, 2019	Wilson-Raybould could have effected change in Indigenous Services: leaders	Kristy Kirkup	White Female
	March 5, 2019	Feminist agenda undermined by reaction to cabinet resignations: Opposition	Kristy Kirkup	White Female

<i>Globe and Mail</i>	November 4, 2015	Gender parity in Trudeau's cabinet a positive start, advocates say	Jane Taber	White Female
	November 4, 2015	Trudeau sets fresh tone with cabinet ready to tackle thorny issues	Daniel Leblanc, Steven Chase, and Gloria Galloway	White Male, White Male, and White Female
	November 14, 2015	The economic story behind gender parity in Trudeau's cabinet	Eveline Adomait	White Female
	November 9, 2015	Canada's blacks: Still waiting for their moment of 'real change'	Cecil Foster	Racialized Male
	November 6, 2015	Five female Liberal cabinet ministers occupy junior seats	Gloria Galloway	White Female
	November 6, 2015	After Trudeau's cabinet reveal, we no longer have to ask 'Am I Canadian enough?'	Dongwoo Kim and Navneet Khinda	Racialized Female and Racialized Male
	November 11, 2015	Trudeau's diverse cabinet not a true Canadian portrait	Lysiane Gagnon	White Female
	November 1, 2015	Trudeau's cabinet to be smaller and more diverse	Daniel LeBlanc	White Male
	October 20, 2015	Factors Trudeau will consider when choosing his cabinet	Staff	Unknown
	April 10, 2019	Did Trudeau have the power to dump two troublesome MPs?	Editorial Board	Unknown
	March 7, 2019	Wilson-Raybould and Philpott aren't principled because they're women. They're	Martha Hall Finday	White Female

		just principled		
	March 7, 2019	Trudeau says Wilson-Raybould was a great fit for Indigenous Services job, but Privy Clerk Wernick knew she'd reject it	Daniel LeBlanc	White Male
	March 8, 2019	Trudeau says Wilson-Raybould was a great fit for Indigenous Services job, but Privy Clerk Wernick knew she'd reject it	Emily Riddle	Indigenous Female
	March 7, 2019	First Nations leaders question Wilson-Raybould's decision to decline Indigenous Services post	Kirsty Kirkup	White Female
	March 6, 2019	Canadians must now judge who is more credible: Gerald Butts or Jody Wilson-Raybould	Campbell Clark	White Male
	March 5, 2019	What Trudeau failed to realize: Women in politics don't believe in politics as usual	Elizabeth Renzetti	White Female
	March 4, 2019	Jane Philpott puts her political capital behind her friend Jody Wilson-Raybould	Daniel Leblanc, Bill Curry, and Kathryn Blaze Baum	White male, white male, and white female
	Mar. 1, 2019	Amplify: The inherent strength and courage of Jody Wilson-	Shelby Blackley	White female

		Raybould		
	Mar. 1, 2019	Trudeau's cabinet shuffle can't fix what is too badly broken	Lori Turnbull	White female
	Feb. 26, 2019	Trudeau promised change with fresh cabinet faces. He may regret it now	Adam Radwanski	White male
	Apr. 11, 2019	Justin Trudeau, a Prime Minister of symbols, falls to Earth	Scott Reid	White male
	Feb. 14, 2019	What happened to our 'feminist' Prime Minister?	Elizabeth Renzetti	White female
	Feb. 13, 2019	The shameful mistreatment of Jody Wilson-Raybould on full display	Joyce Green and Gina Starblanket	White female and Indigenous female
	Jan. 18, 2019	Trudeau dodges criticism from Indigenous leaders over Wilson-Raybould cabinet shuffle	Bill Curry	White male
	Jan. 16, 2019	With Wilson-Raybould demotion, Trudeau gets his priorities wrong	Konrad Yakabuski	White male
	Jan. 16, 2019	The cabinet shuffle says little about Jody Wilson-Raybould – and plenty about the government	Merle Alexander, Leah George-Wilson, Mary Ellen Turpel Lafond, Val Napoleon, Doug White, and Naiome Metallic	Indigenous males and females
	Dec. 18, 2018	Does our feminist Prime Minister truly understand masculinity?	Jamil Jivani	Racialized male
	May 27, 2019	The independent campaign of	Campbell Clark	Male white

		Wilson-Raybould and Philpott likely won't succeed. But Trudeau should still be nervous		
	Apr. 24, 2019	Wilson-Raybould takes aim at Liberal record on reconciliation at gathering of First Nations leaders	Ian Bailey	Racialized white
	Apr. 2, 2019	Trudeau expels Wilson-Raybould and Philpott from Liberal caucus over SNC-Lavalin affair	Robert Fife, Steven Chase, and Janice Dickson	White male, white male, and white female
	Apr. 5, 2019	The treatment of Jody Wilson-Raybould highlights Canada's problem with Indigenous women	Alicia Elliot	Indigenous female
	Apr. 4, 2019	Justin Trudeau has a women problem	Margaret Wente	White female
	Apr. 2, 2019	Trudeau channels Trump as he ejects Wilson-Raybould and Philpott from caucus	Andrew Macdougall	White male
	Mar. 17, 2019	Jane Philpott's next move: Resignation over SNC-Lavalin leaves political future full of uncertainty	Laura Stone	White female
	Mar. 12, 2019	Jody Wilson-Raybould should quit the Liberal caucus	Lawrence Martin	White male
<i>The Guardian</i>	Nov. 4, 2015	Trudeau gives	Jessica Murphy	White female

(England)		Canada first cabinet with equal number of men and women		
	Nov. 5, 2015	Trudeau gives Canada first cabinet with equal number of men and women	Jessica Murphy	White female
<i>The Washington Post</i>	Nov. 5, 2015	Canada now has the world's most Sikh cabinet	Ishaan Tharoor	Racialized male
	Nov. 10, 2015	Why quotas are needed to achieve gender equality	Lindsay Benstead	White female
<i>South Morning China Post</i>	Nov. 5, 2015	Feminist Trudeau names women to half of his new Canadian cabinet	Unknown	Unknown
<i>New York Times</i>	Mar. 8, 2019	Will Canadian Women Turn Their Backs on Their Feminist Prime Minister?	Catherine Porter	White female
	Apr. 15, 2019	What's a Feminist Government? Canada, and Trudeau, Grapple With the Question	Sarah Lyall	White female
<i>National Post</i>	November 2, 2015	Andrew Coyne: Trudeau cabinet should be based on merit, not gender	Andrew Coyne	White male
	November 9, 2015	Full Pundit: Justin Trudeau's symbol-heavy Cabinet will soon confront reality	Chris Selly	White male
	November 6, 2015	The impressiveness of Trudeau's cabinet has nothing to do with the gender of his ministers	Chris Selly	White male
	April 10, 2019	Trudeau's	Bianca Bharti	Racialized

		expulsion of two former cabinet ministers is virtually unprecedented, records show		woman
<i>Montreal Community Contact</i>	November 6, 2015	Missing from Canada's political face	Egbert Gaye	Racialized male
	November 2, 2015	This election brought change	Egbert Gaye	Racialized male
	May 10, 2019	Business as usual or time for real change	Alwin Spence	Racialized male
<i>New Canadian Media</i>	November 5, 2015	A Cabinet that Looks Like Canada	Ranjit Bhaskar	Racialized male
	October 26, 2015	"Diversity a Given" in Trudeau Cabinet	Ranjit Bhaskar	Racialized male
<i>New Pathway</i>	November 10, 2015	Unprecedented: Three Ukrainian Canadian Women At the Helm of Canadian Politics	Unknown	Unknown
<i>Epoch Times</i>	March 7, 2019	Trudeau Says 'Erosion of Trust,' Poor Communication Led to SNC-Lavalin Controversy	Margaret Wallensak	Racialized male
<i>Eagle Feather News</i>	November 5, 2015	Indigenous MPs play prominent roles in new Liberal cabinet	Fraser Needham	Indigenous male
	November 4, 2015	Key cabinet appointments welcomed by the AFN	Staff	Unknown
<i>Windspeaker</i>	April 3, 2019	OPINION: PM, Liberal caucus complicit in actions more suited to word 'unconscionable'	Staff	Unknown

	January 14, 2019	O'Regan appointment to Indigenous Services worrisome; Wilson-Raybould demotion 'typical'	Shari Narine	Indigenous female
	February 13, 2019	Trudeau sexist and condescending in his dealings, says chief	Shari Narine	Indigenous female
<i>The Athenaeum</i> (Nova Scotia)	November 19, 2015	On Parity In Parliament	Kyle Thompson-Clement	Unknown
<i>The Charlatan</i> (Ontario)	November 15, 2015	Letter: Trudeau doesn't deserve acclaim for feminism	Nazneen Khan	Unknown
	November 11, 2015	Letter: Get over it – the gender-balanced cabinet is fair	Ali Sandstrom	Unknown
<i>The Dalhousie Gazette</i> (Nova Scotia)	November 13, 2015	Because its 2015 – not 1968	Shannon Slade	Unknown
<i>The Gateway</i> (Alberta)	November 18, 2015	Science ministers appointed at federal level: Faculty of Science reps comment on Trudeau's new cabinet	Richard Catangay-Liew	Unknown
	January 25, 2019	Federal cabinet shuffle shakes faith in reconciliation	Nathan Sunday	Unknown
	April 11, 2019	Ousting of Wilson-Raybould marks disturbing trend in Liberal Party	Katherine DeCoste	Unknown
<i>The Sheaf</i> (Saskatchewan)	November 19, 2015	Prime Minister Trudeau is more than just nice hair	Kara Tastad	Unknown

<i>The Varsity</i> (Ontario)	January 20, 2019	Merit without misogyny	Isabella Giancola	Unknown
<i>The Xaverian Weekly</i> (Nova Scotia)	March 14, 2019	SNC-Lavalin Controversy	Keegan McNeight	Unknown
<i>UWO Gazette</i> (Ontario)	March 10, 2019	Editorial: Trudeau's SNC- Lavalin controversy is nuanced	Unassigned	Unknown
	March 14, 2019	In response to SNC-Lavalin editorial	Alexander Xiao	Unknown